



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Thursday
21 November 1991

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Djibouti

President Seeks French Military Assistance

AB1911133091 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Text] Djibouti, Nov 19 (AFP)—President Hassan Gouled Aptidon of Djibouti is asking France to help him put down an ethnic insurgency under the terms of a defence agreement with the former colonial power, Gouled's principal secretary Ismael Omar Guelleh said here Tuesday.

"It is a question of external aggression and the agreement lays down that France support us in that case," Omar said of the past week's fighting which has seen an estimated 3,000 Afar guerrillas take control of the northern half of the tiny Horn of Africa country.

The French Foreign Ministry's African affairs chief, Paul Dijoud, arrived here Tuesday and went straight into talks with Gouled, whose government says the Afar attackers come from Ethiopia.

But the opposition Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD) said the rebels are Djibouti Afars, who make up about half the country's population, with the other half belonging to Gouled's Issa clan.

Omar said the Djibouti Army of some 2,500 was facing "highly combat ready guerrillas" and lacked aerial cover. A general mobilisation ordered a week ago has netted some 6,000 young recruits to the police and Army.

Djibouti provides France with its main naval facilities in the Indian Ocean and about 4,000 French military personnel are stationed here.

Arrival of Ethiopian, Somali Fighters Feared

LD2011164191 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Djibouti: The military status quo prevails in the north, as a French envoy, former minister Paul Dijoud, is on the spot to attempt to assess the situation. The Djibouti authorities for their part intend to request of France application of the defense agreements which bind the two countries. The Djibouti authorities maintain the version that the country is prey to external attack. On the spot the situation remains extremely precarious and mobilization continues. Jean Helene:

[Helene] [Passage omitted] According to the government, 6,000 men have already joined up after the call for general mobilization issued on 13 November. This figure, however, seems excessive to observers, who speak of 600 mobilized so far. The opposition are concerned about the possibility of excesses caused by this increasing militarization—these recruits are often unemployed, even criminals, they say, and there is a real risk of blunders that could degenerate into ethnic clashes.

In diplomatic circles it is feared that under the cover of this mobilization the authorities could bring into Djibouti fighters of the armed Issa movements of Ethiopia and Somalia, who would thus come, under the obligation of ethnic solidarity, to the assistance of their Djibouti brothers. Unconfirmed sources are already talking about the arrival of 1,500 men of the Issa and Gurgurra Liberation Front from Dire Dawa. Jean Helene in Djibouti for RFI [Radio-France Internationale].

President Meets With Yemeni Foreign Minister

EA1911212591 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] This morning al-Haji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, the president of the Republic of Djibouti received the Yemeni foreign minister, Dr. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Dali, at the Presidency. The Yemeni minister delivered a message to the president of the Republic of Djibouti from Gen 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, the Yemeni president.

Those present at the meeting were Ali Mohamed Humad, the [Djibouti] acting foreign minister and 'Abd-al-Qasim Naji, the Yemeni ambassador.

Ethiopia

Kenyan President Moi Arrives on Visit 19 Nov

EA1911221591 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
in Somali to Neighboring Countries 1200 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Excerpt] President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya arrived in Ethiopia this morning at the start of a two-day friendly visit. He and his delegation received a warm welcome at the airport in Addis Ababa. Those who welcomed him included the leader of the transitional government of Ethiopia, President Meles Zenawi, who had invited President Daniel arap Moi.

During his visit, President Daniel arap Moi will hold talks with President Meles Zenawi on a number of issues concerning the African Continent, with particular reference to relations between Kenya and Ethiopia. This event is part of the policy of goodwill by which the transitional government seeks to promote good neighborliness and healthy relations with neighboring states such as Kenya, Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan. [passage omitted]

[Nairobi KNA in English at 1545 GMT on 19 November reports that Moi is scheduled to return to Kenya on 20 November "shortly after 1300."]

Meles, Moi Sign Cooperation Treaty

EA2011163691 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] President Moi and President Ato [Mr.] Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia today signed a joint treaty of friendship and cooperation between their two countries.

At the conclusion of their talks today, the two leaders also issued a joint communique on bilateral, regional, continental and international issues of common interest to the two countries. The two agreed to strengthen economic and political cooperation and consolidate the historical friendship between the peoples of the two countries. They reiterated their commitment to promotion and maintenance of good neighborliness and peace between the two countries and at the same time [to] improve and strengthen regular contacts of security and border officials with the aim of consolidating security along the common border. The two heads of state also agreed to implement the reactivation of the permanent joint ministerial commission for cooperation between the two countries.

President Moi and President Meles reaffirmed their commitment and faith in the OAU in resolving Africa's political problems in an African way. They called upon all groups involved in conflicts in the continent to forge an understanding in the interest of their respective countries. The two leaders expressed deep concern for the huge number of refugees in the Horn of Africa, in particular, and in Africa, in general, as a result of internal conflicts and drought.

The two presidents called for the immediate convening of an international conference on refugees and displaced persons with a view to securing humanitarian aid for their permanent rehabilitation and resettlement.

Regarding the serious economic situation in Africa and the debt problem, the two leaders emphasized the need for concerted OAU efforts to tackle and overcome the problem in close collaboration with the international community. They appealed to the industrialized countries of the North for greater understanding and assistance.

[In the same newscast, Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in English reports on an address by Moi to the Ethiopian parliament in which "President Moi further noted that due to the close understanding between Kenya and Ethiopia both countries had signed a military treaty which, if need be, could be reactivated at short notice."]

National Administration Draft Decree Adopted

EA2011180091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The 22d regular session of the Council of Representatives wound up its regular session after assessing and adopting the draft decree on the establishment of the national administration of the transitional period in Ethiopia. According to the charter, the Council of Representatives believes that there is a need for nations, nationalities, and peoples to have their own administration within their own geographical areas at the national and regional transitional administration levels. The Council adopted the decree after assessing it and making amendments to the report presented by the draft committee.

According to the decree, nations, nationalities, or people can establish national transitional administrations within their own geographical areas to govern themselves. Those who live in the same geographical area and have the same language and sense of unity can establish a regional transitional administration by agreement. In this respect, 14 transitional administrative organs have been set up. While the national and regional administrations will have their own structures and authority, the overall political responsibility and authority has been bestowed upon the central transitional government's Council of Representatives for national, regional, district and other administrative levels in accordance with the charter.

Moi Chairs KANU Parliamentary Group Meeting

AB1811212591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today at parliament buildings chaired a Kenya African National Union [KANU] parliamentary group meeting.

On arrival at parliament buildings, President Moi was received by the vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti; KANU chairman, Mr. Peter Oloo Aringo; the secretary-general, Mr. Joseph Kamotho; the party's treasurer, Mr. Japhet Lijoodi; and executive officer, Mr. David Mugambi. Others were the speaker of the national assembly, Professor Jonathan Ng'eno; the attorney-general, Mr. Amos Wako; the party organizing secretary, Kalonzo Musyoka; and other KANU officials.

Cooperation With Uganda Discussed

AB1911155091 Nairobi KNA in English 1245 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Nairobi, 18 Nov (KNA)—President Daniel arap Moi this morning asked the Ministry of Commerce to import sugar from neighbouring Uganda in order to beef up the country's sugar requirement. Addressing the press after the end of a KANU [Kenya African National Union] parliamentary group meeting this morning at Parliament Building, the KANU secretary-general, Mr. Joseph Kamotho, said that the meeting noted that Kenya was unable to produce enough sugar for local consumption. He said that following the president's visit to Jinja [Uganda] early this month, there arose need to cement relations between the two East African sister states, adding that new inroads into areas of co-operation between Kenya and Uganda were being examined. The resolution of sugar [supply] comes at a time when the country has experienced acute shortage of the commodity with several queues frequently being made in supermarkets by customers eager to buy the commodity.

Mr Kamotho said that President Moi briefed the KANU parliamentary group meeting on his recent trips to Harare, Zimbabwe, where he attended the Commonwealth heads of state meeting and his recent meeting in Jinja, Uganda, with the Ugandan head of state, President Yoweri Museveni. The meeting also discussed the need to assist neighbouring Ethiopia which is starting reconstruction of the nation after a period of internal strife. There is a lot to do about helping Ethiopia during this critical time, Mr Kalonzo Musyoka, the national organising secretary of the ruling party, who attended the meeting said.

Mr Kamotho said that at the end of this week, President Moi will play host to leaders from Uganda and Tanzania who will be coming to the country to discuss areas of regional co-operation. He asked Kenyans to come out in large numbers to accord the state dignitaries a reception akin to Kenya.

'Change' in Country To Be 'Gradual'

*EA1911212191 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] President Daniel arap Moi today asked the Ministry of Commerce to import sugar from neighboring Uganda in order to beef up the country's sugar requirements. President Moi chaired the KANU [Kenya African National Union] parliamentary group meeting where he made the remarks.

Briefing the press on the meeting, the [KANU] secretary general, Joseph Kamotho, said that Kenya was unable to produce enough sugar for local consumption.

Kamotho said the president had briefed the delegates on his recent trips to Zimbabwe and Uganda.

The two-hour closed door meeting also resolved that change in the country should be gradual.

Moi: Only Local Reporters Allowed in Nairobi Soon

*EA1911214091 Nairobi DAILY NATION
in English 19 Nov 91 p 28*

[Article "Bureaux Rule Due Soon" by unidentified NATION reporter]

[Excerpt] President Moi said yesterday that he would soon make an announcement requiring all foreign bureaux operating in Nairobi to replace their staff with local journalists. President Moi was speaking to journalists at parliament buildings shortly before he chaired a KANU [Kenya African National Union] parliamentary group meeting.

He spoke for 10 minutes to REUTER photographer, Mr. Hos Maina. "I will soon make an announcement which will require that foreign correspondents should be local Kenyans." [sentence as published] Nairobi is home to some 150 foreign correspondents who cover various regions on the continent. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Statement on Ties With U.S.

*EA1911223091 Nairobi KNA in English 1742 GMT
19 Nov 91*

[Text] Nairobi, 19 November [KNA]—This is a full text of a press release by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: "As a follow-up to the press conference given by the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Hon. Wilson Ndolo Ayah, EGH, MP, the ministry wishes to correct an error created by newspaper accounts of the conference that Kenya protested to the USA.

"Kenya has no problem with the Government of the USA. Relations between the two countries remain friendly. The Ministry, however, wishes to clarify that the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation and indeed the Government of Kenya takes exception to the behaviour of the American Ambassador, H.E. Mr. Smith Hempstone, who is known to give an apparent support to Kenyan dissidents. This attitude is inconsistent with his diplomatic status. As stated by the honorable minister, we wish to leave the matter to the conscience of the esteemed ambassador of the USA."

Parliament Calls on U.S. 'To Replace' Ambassador

*EA2011060591 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Parliament today passed a motion calling on the U.S. Government to replace her ambassador to Kenya, Smith Hempstone, with another envoy. The motion was moved by Taita-Taveta MP Mwacharo Kubo. [passage omitted] Professor George Saitoti, the vice president and minister for finance, said when the United States was having problems in other African countries soon after independence, Kenya stood solidly behind the United States and even allowed the American Government to use certain facilities in Mombasa and other coastal areas. Professor Saitoti said Hempstone belonged to the old Americans who believed in racial inferiority and superiority. He said Kenya had no room for this type of mentality that wanted to pollute the minds of her youth.

The minister for health, Mwai Kibaki, said that as a free nation Kenya wanted to decide where to go, who would govern her and how. Kibaki said the U.S. ambassador is one man who did not value the good relations Kenya and U.S. enjoyed. [passage omitted] The motion was unanimously passed. [passage omitted]

[Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in English at 1900 GMT on 19 November adds: "Contributing to the motion, the minister for agriculture, Mr. Elijah Mwangale, said that unless Mr. Hempstone does not change his

activities and is removed by his government, then Parliament should declare him persona non grata. Mr Mwangale termed the envoy a criminal who should be removed from Kenya. He said that Kenya had assisted the United States in many ways, of which, he said, both countries were aware."

Minister: U.S. Pursuing, Funding Multipartyism

*EA2011071591 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] The KANU [Kenya African National Union] parliamentary group meeting this morning accused foreign countries of practicing international corruption last Saturday [16 November] during the abortive meeting which was to be addressed by members of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD. The meeting accused foreign governments of dishing out money to the youth to buy drugs and illicit brew so as to cause chaos.

[Joseph] Kamotho [KANU secretary general and education minister] said that it was common knowledge that the U.S. last year voted 850,000,000 U.S. dollars to perpetuate [as heard] American democracy in the world, of which 30,000,000 dollars had been distributed to the eastern region of Africa:

[Begin recording] It was also the [words indistinct] that whatever is happening here there is an element of international corruption whereby foreign governments are using money to destabilize this country. That is corruption. There was a very major address by James Baker in Atlanta last year where they started a fund for propagation of democracy and multipartyism in the world—850,000,000 U.S. dollars. The Americans are not hiding, so don't cover them. They are not hiding that they are using money to propagate their political thinking in all—since of the collapse of communism. Those fellows are looking for a new agenda in world politics. That is very documented. So let us not debate. Let us not reduce a major international issue to a local, political, petty—you know. [end recording]

KANU Advises Shift of Focus to Nation-Building

*EA2011204791 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 20 Nov 91*

[Text] KANU [Kenya African National Union] has called on the party branches throughout the country to be satisfied with the condemnation in Parliament yesterday of the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Mr. Smith Hempstone's demeaning conduct to the government. Leaders of the party should now concentrate on nation-building and party recruitment. In a statement issued to the press this evening, the secretary general of the ruling party KANU, Mr. Joseph Kamotho, said the party headquarters will issue further guidance on the matter at a later date. He said party rallies must continue emphasizing the need for peace and unity among Kenyans and sensitize the people on the few misguided elements being used by foreigners to disrupt peace in the country.

Mr. Kamotho urged all KANU members to continue supporting President Moi in his efforts to promote peace, love, and unity and regional cooperation.

Moi Returns From Ethiopia; Comments on Issues

*EA2011165091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 20 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said that Kenya's economy was on sound footing and criticized those who were claiming that the economy was collapsing. President Moi pointed out that the country's economy had continued to grow stronger over the years, adding that in the manufacturing sector alone, an increase of 70 percent had been registered since 1978. He further said last year alone, 228 investors put their money in projects worth over 10 billion shillings and created over 200,000 jobs in the country. The government had ensured through its planning that the economy would continue to remain strong. President Moi was speaking at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport on arrival from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he was on a two-day official visit.

The president, however, said the development of the nation will be achieved through commitment and devotion of the people and not idle talk. President Moi reminded Kenyans that it was their duty to build their own country and should not expect any outsider to do so. He advised Kenyans to ignore the proponents of multipartyism and other agitators as they did not aim to improve the quality of the lives of Kenyans. President Moi observed that it was unfortunate that many people in Africa still lived in dreams and have tried to introduce issues that were detrimental to the African society. He advised Africans to protect their dignity at all costs if they expected to be respected by others. The president noted that despite the poverty which was prevalent in the continent, Africans should not allow their dignity to be stripped from them.

President Moi said that as a sovereign state, Kenya did not harbor any hatred towards another country and was grateful to those who extended assistance but stressed that the country's dignity will not be compromised. He pointed out that Kenyans have a right to decide the best path to take in improving their welfare, adding that no one should be allowed to dictate to them. He further added that dignity was a right to every human being and Kenya stood for that right to all nations, regardless of color or race.

President Moi noted that although Africa faces so many calamities as a result of civil strife, it was the duty of Africans themselves to solve those problems. He said that while in Ethiopia, he agreed with the Ethiopian leader that Kenya and Ethiopia will try to assist as much as possible to ensure that peace prevailed in Somalia. President Moi, however, pointed out that peace in Somalia will entail the people there trying to find a lasting solution to their problems without external interference. President Moi said that Kenya was saddened by

the problems facing a number of countries in the continent who are fighting one another instead of improving the lives of their people. He said it was unfortunate that the very people who fought for independence in many African countries had now been rendered destitute by civil strifes in their homelands. The president commended Kenyans for refusing to be swayed from the development activities and for continuing to remain in peace. He pointed out that it was through peace and unity that some of the problems facing the country could be eliminated. President Moi said patriotism was the key to development which will ensure that their children being born will have a comfortable future.

The president also told the local press to exercise some responsibility, saying that Kenyan press have a lot of freedom compared to other countries in the continent. President Moi said that reconstructing a country that has been plunged into chaos is a slow and painful process that can take very many years. [passage omitted]

Vice President Cited on Economy, Political Change

EA2011152591 Nairobi KNA in English 1525 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Nairobi, 19 Nov (KNA)—The vice president and minister for finance, Prof George Saitoti, today said that Kenya had witnessed a rapid expansion of the economy since independence. Prof Saitoti was officially opening the international public relations conference taking place in Nairobi today. [passage omitted]

Prof Saitoti said the economic policies that Kenya has so far followed had one primary objective, to promote rapid growth of the economy and income levels while at the same time continuing to maintain economic stability. The vice president said that sub-Saharan Africa is currently experiencing a modest recovery after years of stagnation. He, however, noted the growth was fragile at about three per cent, barely the population growth rate and nowhere near what is needed to raise meaningfully the region's per capita incomes.

Prof Saitoti said that, notwithstanding that many of the problems of the region have been externally generated, Africans recognised that the primary responsibility for the continent's development rests with the African people and their leaders. The vice president reiterated that Africans cannot afford to borrow foreign ideologies and models for the continent's development. He said that if Africa is to avert hunger and provide productive employment to its growing labour force, her economies must grow at a much faster rate and highlighted agriculture as an important sector in that regard.

Prof Saitoti said that Africa also needed a sustained growth in exports, mobilization of savings and investment and, indeed, enough foreign exchange to pay for essential imports. [passage omitted]

The vice president dispelled the propaganda that Kenyans do not want change. He said that what the Kenyan people have said time and again is that they would embrace change at their own time and their own way. He said that Kenyans will not take change just for the sake of it or for purely ideological reasons, rationalising that each society is the best judge to decide when to change and how to bring about that change.

The vice president said that Kenyans have never been static and their ideas and concepts keep changing as they gain more experience of developmental issues and wananchi [citizens] are adapting to changes in the environment.

Prof Saitoti said that President Daniel arap Moi has stated time and again that Kenya will change if the majority of the Kenyans want it to happen. President Moi, Prof Saitoti said, is not opposed to pluralism, but its introduction requires people's mandate, orchestrated without foreign influence and through the amendment of the appropriate laws of the land in an orderly and peaceful manner. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Industry Minister Biwott; Dismissal

Departs for Austria Amid Accusations

AB1511185091 Paris AFP in English 1826 GMT
15 Nov 91

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 15 (AFP)—Kenyan Industry Minister Nicholas Biwott has left for Austria after being accused of corruption at a judicial inquiry into the death of Foreign Minister Robert Ouko, Kenyan television reported Friday [15 November].

Biwott's departure followed rumors that he was about to flee the country. He has denied accusations that he demanded kickbacks of 10 to 15 per cent from foreign companies bidding for lucrative contracts in Kenya.

The accusations were made by a Swiss-based company, BAK, in letters which have been produced as evidence at the Ouko inquiry.

Kenya Television Network reported that Biwott, who has also denied allegations of corruption made against him by British tycoon Tiny Rowland, had left for Vienna late Thursday.

It did not say when he was scheduled to return.

More on Departure for Austria

EA1511221091 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600
GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] The minister for industry, Nicholas Biwott, left the country last night for Vienna, Austria. The permanent secretary in the office of the president and secretary to the cabinet, Professor Philip Mbithi, confirmed that

he had signed Biwott's letter to clearance to travel to Vienna to attend a Unido industry ministers' conference [sentence as heard].

Professor Mbithi said the conference began today and ends on 26th November. Minister Biwott was accompanied by one of his bodyguards.

Murder Inquiry Witness Implicates Biwott

*EA191119309: Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Retired British detective John Troon today made specific recommendations to the Ouko inquiry commission. He also said that Minister Nicholas Biwott, and former permanent secretary Hezekiah Oyugi, are the prime suspects in Dr. Robert Ouko's murder.

He also recommended a full and impartial investigation be carried out into allegations made by the [word indistinct] directors of corruption among senior government ministers and civil servants. [Words indistinct] and ministers should be interviewed in relation to the Washington visit, and their knowledge of what may have transpired between Dr. Ouko and other colleagues.

Full inquiry should be undertaken to establish the truth surrounding the allegations that files were taken from the minister's Kori farm which subsequently disappeared and establish the details of those files and papers.

Inquiries should be made to obtain any evidence from Special Branch officers in relation to their interviews with possible witnesses in relation to Dr. Ouko's death, particularly those who gave interviews in relation to rumormongering; inquiries [should] be made to establish beyond doubt the movements and alibis of Oyugi, his driver and bodyguards from 9 February 1990 to 13 February; inquiries [should] be made to establish the alibi put forward by [Joab] Omino [Ouko political rival] and any connection that he and Biwott might have in the Muhoroni sugar complex.

Troon repeated his earlier assertions that Nyanza Provincial Commissioner Julius Kobia knew something on how Dr. Robert Ouko died. Troon continues to be cross-examined by Oraro when the session resumes tomorrow morning.

President Moi Fires Biwott

*AB1911175591 Paris AFP in English 1749 GMT
19 Nov 91*

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 19 (AFP)—Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi fired embattled Industry Minister Nicholas Biwott on Tuesday, the Office of the President announced.

Biwott, a close aide to Moi, was relieved of his duties "with immediate effect," a statement said.

Biwott has been repeatedly accused of corruption in the course of an ongoing judicial inquiry into the murder in

February 1990 of Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko, and a British detective who investigated the brutal murder has implicated Biwott as a suspect in the crime.

BBC Reports on Dismissal

*AB1911195391 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program presented by Ruth Tholby]

[Text] Some news just in: Kenya Radio has reported that the industry minister, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, has been dismissed from the Cabinet by President Moi.

Yesterday, Mr. Biwott had been named by a former British detective as being a prime suspect in the killing last year of the Kenyan foreign minister, Mr. Robert Ouko.

Well, our East African correspondent, Colin Blane, is on the line from Nairobi. Colin, was any official reason given for Mr. Biwott's dismissal?

[Begin recording] [Blane] No reason at all. It was a very simple statement. It came from the Cabinet secretary, Mr. Philip Mbithi, who put out a statement simply saying that Nicholas Biwott had been relieved of his duties, that President Moi had instructed that Mr. Biwott should be relieved of his ministerial duties. That is all it said, but there has been a great deal of speculation in Kenya over the last few days, indeed few weeks about the future of Nicholas Biwott, because it is not very long since he was moved from the energy portfolio which is regarded as a more powerful one to industry, and people did wonder whether this was the beginning of a slide.

[Tholby] How important do you think this is: Is the government trying to back away from the whole Ouko inquiry scandal?

[Blane] I think it is important. I think that the government is showing that it is sensitive to what has been going on in the inquiry. Many people doubted that the inquiry would really go into its business seriously, but certainly in the last few months, I think those doubts have been dispelled, and some of the evidence has been very strong indeed, and well, a lot of it is only allegations. Those allegations have fallen very hard on Nicholas Biwott, and the strongest thing that has been said so far was that [said] yesterday, when Inspector John Troon named Nicholas Biwott and the civil servant Hezekiah Oyugi as the two prime suspects.

[Tholby] Do you think his dismissal could make any potential prosecution easier?

[Blane] I do not know whether that will make prosecution easier or not. I imagine that if he had remained a minister, he could still be prosecuted, although in view of what has come out in the inquiry, I cannot see that anyone would have remained in a ministerial position. I would have thought that a minister would have been

inclined to resign and to defend himself, and perhaps then seek a new ministerial post. But the inquiry itself does not prosecute. What will happen once the inquiry has finished its business is, I think, that the attorney general will decide whether there is a case to answer. And if he does decide that, then it may well be that those people who have been named in the course of the inquiry may have to face charges.

[Tholby] Do you think this is going to be a popular decision, his dismissal?

[Blane] It is very hard to say. Nicholas Biwott had his allies in Kenya. I think it will be popular, perhaps privately, in the donor community because there were those who felt that he had become so powerful that it was difficult for them to direct aid as they would have wanted to. And this may have helped to free up and to improve strained relations. I think we have to say that relations are strained between Kenya and some of the foreign countries, and this may help to encourage them to believe that Kenya is on the way to transparency and accountability, which are two of the things that donors have talking about in recent weeks.

[Tholby] How close was Nicholas Biwott to President Moi himself?

[Blane] It is always difficult for an outsider to judge that, but everyone maintained that they were very close, they have been political allies for a long time, since before President Moi became president. It must be very difficult for the president to sack someone who has been his ally and his supporter for so long. But really the evidence which had come out in Kisumu was so strong that I think many people felt that any personal friendship really would not be able to shield Nicholas Biwott from standing down.

[Tholby] Finally, as to Biwott himself, where is he?

[Blane] As far as I know, he is still in Austria where he went at the end of last week. That was announced in the newspapers last week. And he flew out to Austria. He is a man who travels a great deal internationally. It was not regarded as a huge surprise that he was traveling, although there were one or two raised eyebrows. People wondered why he had gone at such a time. But I do not think we can read a great deal into that at this stage. [end recording]

Report on Muite, Odinga, Others' Court Hearings
EA2011063091 Nairobi DAILY NATION
in English 19 Nov pp 1, 20

[Article "Tear Gas as Muite Goes to Court" by the "NATION team"]

[Excerpts] The chairman of the Law Society of Kenya, Mr. Paul Muite was remanded in custody until this morning while lawyer-publisher Gitobu Imanyara was released on a [shilling] 100,000 bond. [passage omitted]

In Kiambu, Mr. Muite appeared before the principal magistrate, Mr. Solomon Wamwayi, at 4.35 pm and was met by 38 lawyers who are representing him. They are led by Mr. John Khaminwa. The prosecution was led by Chief Inspector Joseph Ndolo. [passage omitted] Mr. Muite, dressed in a light green Kaunda suit, looked tired and dishevelled with a three-day growth of beard. He shivered as he sat in the dock. He said he was opposed to his case being heard in Kiambu as the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of tribe. "The alleged offences were committed in Nairobi and the only inference I can draw is that my presence in this court is supposed to remind me of my tribe. The choice of this court for my prosecution is totally unconstitutional", Mr. Muite said. [passage omitted] Outside, riot police used tear gas to disperse thousands of people who lined the Kiambu-Nairobi road to catch a glimpse of Mr. Muite. Carrying branches and chanting *ni mbili tu* (two-party only) and other FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] slogans, the crowd waved the two-finger-salute [same as the V for victory sign]. [passage omitted] The release of several tear gas canisters by the watchful riot policemen sent the people scampering for safety. In the ensuing melee, many fell down and sustained slight injuries. [passage omitted]

[KNA in English at 1430 GMT on 19 November adds that "Mr. Paul Kibugi Muite was today denied bail by a Kiambu court after he denied five counts of organising an illegal meeting in Nairobi last weekend." The magistrate "ordered that Mr. Muite be remanded in prison custody until next Wednesday," 20 November].

In Meru, thousands of wananchi [citizens] dancing and chanting slogans in support of the FORD jammed the streets of Meru. Mr. Imanyara was released on bond. [passage omitted]

In Siaya, Mr. [James] Orengo was brought to court at 12.09 accompanied by his wife and close relatives. Dressed in a pair of blue jeans, a white long-sleeved shirt and black shoes, Mr. Orengo looked composed as he denied the five charges read out to him by the resident magistrate, Mr. Aol Ndiga. Mr. Ndiga yesterday also suspended an order requiring [former vice president] Jaramogi Oginga Odinga to report to the district police headquarters three times a week.

Mr. Odinga was brought to court from his Bondo home at 1.30 pm under tight security. [passage omitted] Arriving in a white Mercedes Benz, Mr. Odinga flashed the two-finger salute before entering the OCPD's office accompanied by security personnel. Wananchi swarmed towards the station forcing armed policemen to fire into the air in a bid to scatter them. [passage omitted]

Mr. [Martin] Shikuku and [Japheth] Shamalla appeared before the Kakamega senior resident magistrate, Mrs. Gladys Ndede, at 10.20 am and denied the five charges. [passage omitted] Outside, armed riot and regular

policemen kept watch as the two men were hurriedly led out of the courtroom to avoid journalists and the crowd. [passage omitted]

[Nairobi KNA in English at 1442 GMT on 19 November adds in a Kakamega-dated item, "A Kakamega court today dismissed an application to be released on bond on medical grounds by a Nairobi-based advocate, Mr. Japheth Shamalla." KNA adds that Shamalla "refused to plead either guilty or not guilty."]

In Murang'a, Mr. [Philip] Gachoka was brought to court at 7 a.m. But was later taken away by policemen who held him at the Murang'a police station until 5.17 p.m. when he appeared before the principal magistrate, Mr. Aggrey Muchelule. Hundreds of people milled around the court and police station premises for most of the day waiting for Mr. Gachoka's appearance. When he was finally brought to court, people scrambled for seats to listen to submissions by a team of six defence lawyers led by Mr. Muturi Kigano. [passage omitted] In Kisumu, the principal magistrate, Mr. C.O. Ongudi, for the second time rejected a bail application by veteran trade unionist, Mr. Dennis Akumu. [passage omitted]

[Nairobi KNA in English, in a Nairobi-dated item at 1820 GMT on 19 November, also reports, "A Nairobi lawyer, Dr. John M. Khaminwa, today filed an application in the High Court in Nairobi seeking bail pending arrest for Mr. Salim Ahmed Bamahriz, who is a Mombasa councillor and a founder of the illegal Forum for the Restoration of Democracy. Mr. Bamahriz went into hiding late last week." KNA also adds, "Meanwhile, Dr. Khaminwa has filed a writ of habeas corpus application seeking the commissioner of police to produce former assistant minister and MP for Mathare, Mr. Andrew Kimani Ngumba, in court and show cause why he should not be set free forthwith."]

FORD Member Nthenge Released on Bond

EA2011155591 Nairobi KNA in English 1635 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Machakos, 19 Nov (KNA)—A founder [as received] member of the illegal Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD), Mr. George Nthenge, was today granted a personal bond of shs. [Kenya shillings] 10,000. [Words indistinct] Mr. Bedan Muturi recently charged with five counts of intending to hold an illegal meeting was today represented by Mr. Kauma Musili, Mike Ndunda, and Mr. D. Mutua.

Applying for bond, Mr. Kauma Musili said that it was common sense the question of the accused interfering with investigations should not arise since he was arrested five days ago and that he should not have been produced in court if investigations were not yet over. The prosecutor, Chief Inspector Albert Nyanga, had opposed the bond application saying that the accused was an influential person and may interfere with state witnesses since investigations were not yet complete. But Mr. Kauma argued that the prosecutor had not shown by manner of

affidavit how influential the accused was and that is he influences state witnesses, whether he will get away with the jurisdiction of the court. [sentence as received] Mr. Kauma also stated that his client was an old man of 64 with a family of seven, four of them being so young. [passage omitted]

In his ruling, Mr. Muturi said that the allegation that the accused may interfere with state witnesses stood out nakedly and unsubstantiated and a mere statement from the Bar. He said that cardinal consideration in giving an accused person bond was to secure attendance by the accused at his trial and that in this case, it was neither alleged nor suspected that the accused will not turn up for trial.

Mr. Muturi said that the court should at all times be impartial and not allocate itself the role of assisting the police in investigations by holding accused persons in custody on mere suspicion that they were likely to interfere with investigations. He said that it was therefore an invalid excuse that the accused was likely to interfere with investigations.

He said that the maximum penalty the accused could be given after conviction was a fine of shs. (75,000) or six months imprisonment in default for the charges he was facing. He said that he deliberately stated this aspect of the offence as it is prudent to imagine that the accused can abscond while out on bond. Saying there were no good and compelling reasons to deny the accused his constitutional right, Mr. Muturi released him on bond and ordered him to report to Buru Buru police station [in Nairobi] every Friday morning until his case is determined.

Somalia

Reportage on Factional Fighting, Developments

Italy To Evacuate Embassy Personnel

AB1911154591 Paris AFP in English 1528 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Text] Rome, Nov 19 (AFP)—Italian Embassy personnel in the Somali capital Mogadishu are being evacuated, the Foreign Ministry said here Tuesday following a coup against interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed.

The embassy building was ransacked on Monday by troops of new strongman General Mohamed Farah Haideed. Staff took shelter at a hospital being used by the medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres as its operating base.

A Cessna plane was flying in from the Kenyan capital Nairobi to collect the personnel. If the security situation permitted, Charge d'affaires Gianfranco Colonnato and some aides would, however, stay behind to maintain contact with local authorities, the ministry said.

Fighting in Central Mogadishu 19 Nov

AB1911163591 Paris AFP in French 1525 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Text] Nairobi, 19 Nov (AFP)—Fighting resumed this afternoon in the central part of Mogadishu between the Abgals, who support Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed, and the Habr Gedir Saads, who support General Mohamed Farah Haideed, it was learned from several sources contacted from Nairobi.

A diplomatic source indicated that the fighting was "very intense," 24 hours after President Ali Mahdi fled Mogadishu under the pressure of the Saads. The resumption of fighting, at the Martini beach, follows a quiet morning.

During the day, however, the International Committee of the Red Cross has been able to dispatch one nurse and some drugs to Mogadishu. Doctors Without Borders has sent a surgeon and some medical equipment. The aircraft that was to evacuate part of the staff of the Italian Embassy, which was ransacked the morning of 18 November, has received clearance to land at the Mogadishu airport from where it was expected to leave for Nairobi at about 1800 local time (1500 GMT).

Red Cross Issues Appeal to Factions

AB1911220091 Paris AFP in English 2131 GMT
19 Nov 91

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 19 (AFP)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) called late Tuesday on the warring parties in the Somali capital Mogadishu to allow the Red Cross and other humanitarian bodies to do their work.

In a statement from its regional office here, the ICRC "appealed to all commanders and combatants to respect the elementary principles of humanity as well as the Red Cross and Red Crescent emblem and to allow all humanitarian organisations to carry out their activities in favour of people affected by the conflict."

Rival forces of interim head of state Ali Mahdi Mohamed and General [Mohamed] Farah Haideed have been waging a bloody struggle for power in Mogadishu over the past three days. According to the humanitarian organisation Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders), 30 people have died in hospital from wounds suffered in the fighting Sunday and Monday.

MSF said there were 180 wounded, and that its surgical team had carried out some 70 operations in 48 hours.

Fighting Intensifies in Mogadishu 20 Nov

AB2011125091 Paris AFP in English 1229 GMT
20 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Nairobi, Nov 20 (AFP)—Fighting among rival clans in the United Somali Congress was spreading in the

capital Mogadishu on Wednesday [20 November], aid sources contacted from the Kenyan capital reported.

They said a new factor was that the hitherto more or less neutral Hawadle clan holding the airport zone appeared to have allied itself with the Habr Gedir Saad of new strongman General Mohamed Farah Haideed in his battle with the Abgal of ousted interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed who fled on Monday. The Abgal had attacked Hawadle positions.

Fighting was going on along a front line stretching from Martini beach to the Villa Somalia, the president's official residence. Haideed forces were moving heavy artillery to the north of the city, one source said. [passage omitted]

Ali Mahdi Claims 'Still in Power'

AB1911200991 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Just as it looked as though power has changed hands in the Somali capital Mogadishu, there has been another twist in the story. Yesterday, reports from the capital spoke of a takeover of power by General Mohamed Farah Haideed from the interim president, Ali Mahdi [Mohamed], his rival within the United Somali Congress [USC]. But earlier today, Ali Mahdi called our Somali service to announce he was still in power. President Ali Mahdi had to leave suddenly before we could speak to him. So, Robin White spoke instead to Minister of State (Awayz Hadji Yusuf). He asked him first where he and the president were:

[Begin recording] [(Yusuf)] He is at his residence at Garan Headquarters.

[White] And where is that exactly?

[(Yusuf)] Exactly, it is Garan District (?in) his proper house.

[White] Right in the center of town?

[(Yusuf)] In the center of town, yes.

[White] And is he claiming to still be in control?

[(Yusuf)] Yes, he is in control.

[White] But, we had General Haideed claiming that he is in control.

[(Yusuf)] No, he made some disturbances yesterday and today, but at least what I can say 80 percent of the area of Mogadishu is controlled by the government forces.

[White] Who is controlling the radio station?

[(Yusuf)] The government forces loyal to the president are controlling the radio.

[White] How come General Haideed is then broadcasting from the radio station?

[(Yusuf)] General Haideed since two weeks he established his own radio and he is speaking from his own radio.

[White] And you claim to be in control of Radio Mogadishu?

[(Yusuf)] We claim to be in control of Radio Mogadishu.

[White] Now, what about the airport?

[(Yusuf)] Also the airport is controlled by the government forces loyal to the president.

[White] Are you sure of that? Because the relief agencies seem to be saying that General Haideed is in control of the airport.

[(Yusuf)] No, I am definitely sure about that.

[White] But they, the relief agencies, say that they are dealing with General Haideed.

[(Yusuf)] No, I do not believe because maybe they do not recognize what are the government forces and what are the Haideed forces.

[White] So, is there any fighting going on today?

[(Yusuf)] Yes, still going on in the way to the (Avo Koyer).

[White] What kind of fighting?

[(Yusuf)] Well, fighting... [changes thought] it is (?sporadic) fighting, I mean gun fighting is listened everywhere, but I can assure you as the president just informed the BBC Somali service, that 80 percent of Mogadishu is controlled by government forces.

[White] Now, how many people have died over the past few days?

[(Yusuf)] Well, I cannot give you an exact estimation, but a lot of people have been killed by General Haideed's forces. Most of the casualties are civilians.

[White] And how many of General Haideed's people do you say you have killed?

[(Yusuf)] We do not know exactly the number now.

[White] But are the hospitals overflowing with injured?

[(Yusuf)] Yes.

[White] Now, is there any chance of a negotiated settlement with General Haideed or this going to go on and on and on?

[(Yusuf)] Well, we have tried to negotiate with him peacefully and even the Central Committee of the USC were holding a meeting with them and overruled their finding.

[White] What do you think the outcome of this latest fighting is going to be?

[(Yusuf)] The outcome will be that the government forces will win.

[White] From where you are at the moment, can you hear fighting going on?

[(Yusuf)] No, no, no.

[White] No fighting at all?

[(Yusuf)] No fighting from this area, at least, 10 km around the president's residence.

[White] So, where is the frontline?

[(Yusuf)] The frontline is at the road to the (Avo Issad).

'Several Hundred' Feared Dead

*AB2011183591 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT
20 Nov 91*

[By David Chazan]

[Text] Mogadishu, Nov 20 (AFP)—Shells and rockets pounded and eastern districts of the Somali capital Mogadishu as rival factions fought for control of the war-shattered city on Wednesday. Several hundred people are feared killed in the latest bout of heavy fighting, which erupted Sunday [17 November] between rival factions of the ruling United Somali Congress (USC), residential aid workers said. But no reliable toll has been established in the chaotic and divided city, where almost every building is pock-marked with shell- and bullet-holes and the streets are strewn with rubble.

Patrick Vial of the French medical group Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) [Doctors Without Borders] said about 150 people had been admitted to the Medina Hospital on Tuesday, at least 10 of whom died. About 400 injured have been admitted to the hospital since Sunday, overstretching the MSF team and obliging them to pitch tents in the grounds to accommodate patients. The nearby Digfer Hospital was also overflowing. The chief doctor there, Mohamed Mahmoud Ali, said 220 patients had been admitted since Sunday.

General Mohamed Farah Haideed, the USC chairman, has wrested control of much of Mogadishu from a rival faction loyal to President Ali Mahdi Mohamed. Haideed's forces, which seem better equipped and more numerous than those of the president, held the presidential palace of Villa Somalia and the radio station Wednesday. But artillery and rocket battles raged in the eastern districts of Karan and Lido, which lies on the Indian Ocean coast. Fighting broke out early Sunday when Ali Mahdi's forces apparently attacked areas controlled by Haideed, according to residents.

The whereabouts of Ali Mahdi, who took power in January after the USC ousted dictator Mohamed Siad Barre, were uncertain. Haideed told AFP that Ali Mahdi

had fled the capital and was probably in Warsheik, about 60 kilometres (35 miles) north-east of Mogadishu, a view shared by many residents. But Ali Mahdi, who has a portable satellite telephone, claimed in a call to the BBC on Tuesday that he was still in the Karan neighbourhood

Haideed, interviewed at his plush villa in a western residential district, claimed to control the whole city, which was home to some two million people before Siad Barre fled the city amid heavy fighting in January. The city was hit by another bloodbath in September, when 300 to 600 people were killed as supporters of Ali Mahdi fought Haideed's men.

Residents said Haideed could not be in control of all of Mogadishu as guerrilla fighters were fighting house-to-house battles and snipers were picking off unsuspecting passers-by.

An AFP reporter with an AFP photographer saw Haideed's forces using anti-aircraft guns and machine guns mounted on the back of jeeps to flush the president's men out of a house at the end of Abdul Aziz Street, on the edge of the Lido area.

Ali Mahdi's forces responded with volleys of automatic rifle fire, and a few minutes later started shelling Haideed's positions near the central bank. Haideed's forces drove the AFP journalists from the general's headquarters in western Mogadishu to the eastern areas where the

fighting was raging. Gunshots and shells were heard clearly throughout the city, even in the western residential neighbourhoods where there was no fighting. But a foreign aid worker said: "This is calm compared to what we've seen since all hell broke loose on Sunday morning." He said the fighting had died down as Haideed apparently gained the upper hand.

Italy evacuated the last of 17 staff from its Mogadishu embassy on Wednesday. A diplomat said the embassy, near the Lido area, had been "looted of everything it contained". The embassy staff linked hands and formed a human chain a bid to stop the looters entering. "But they fired between our legs and just over our heads, so we had to give in," said the diplomat. "It was a nasty ordeal. The whole thing lasted about an hour before we managed to get away. But it was a very long hour." The Save the Children fund has evacuated all but one of its foreign staff.

Much of central and southern Somalia has been devastated by clan-based fighting this year. The Hawiye clan which forms the backbone of the USC is divided into two main factions. Ali Mahdi draws support from his Abgal sub-clan. But residents say not Abgals are behind the president, whose popularity seems to have slumped in recent months as he has proved unable to restore peace.

The Habr Gedir Saad sub-clan is supporting Haideed.

ANC Spokesman Clarifies Stand on All-Party Talks*MB141114091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0901 GMT 14 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 14 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] and the National Party [NP] had agreed that November 29 should be the date on which an all-party conference would be held, ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said on Thursday.

Miss Marcus objected on Thursday to a SAPA report issued on Wednesday quoting her as saying November 29 was not "absolutely" a date for all-party talks, but was a tentative date proposed by the ANC for the talks with other parties.

"From our side we would like November 29," Miss Marcus was quoted as saying.

On Thursday she said her remarks in the report could be construed as contradicting ANC President Nelson Mandela, who on Wednesday told reporters the all-party conference would be on November 29.

"I would like to stress that the date in question was agreed upon by the ANC and the National Party.... The reason talks would not go ahead on this date would be if parties other than the ANC and NP could not make it then," Miss Marcus said on Thursday.

"I would never contradict the president of the ANC," she added.

ANC Youth Group Cited on Party Talks Deferment*MB1511144291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1257 GMT 15 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 15 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] Youth League (ANCYL) on Friday said it hoped postponement of the preparatory meeting for the all-party congress (convention for a democratic future) was not an early indication of "delaying tactics still to come from the National Party/Inkatha alliance".

It said in a statement the current state of "political paralysis of the government/Inkatha alliance" dated back to the Inkathagate scandal.

"Both parties (Inkatha and the government) should realise that the coming into existence of an interim government will go a long way in removing the memory of the scandal in the minds of our people. It is for that reason also that the mechanism for bringing about that interim government should not be delayed."

The ANCYL said that while there may have been other problems which necessitated the postponement of the meeting, it condemned the "thinly veiled attempts of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] to extricate itself from the embarrassing alliance with the oppressors at the expense of the future of our country and our peoples".

"The ANC Youth League expects the convening of the all-party congress to have a profound psychological role in our society. Not only will it generate hope for the better, but should also instil confidence in the future of the country."

ANC's Ramaphosa Addresses Chamber of Business*MB1411164091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1603 GMT 14 Nov 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress [ANC], Thursday, 14 November 1991: "Speech by Cyril Ramaphosa, Secretary General of the African National Congress to SACOB [South African Chamber of Business], Johannesburg 14/11/91"]

[Text] Chairperson, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to express my gratitude, and that of the African National Congress [ANC], for this invitation to share with you some of our thinking on the way forward for the economy in SA [South Africa].

Introduction

As you are undoubtedly aware, we are on the verge of a significant and historic breakthrough with negotiations soon to begin. After hundreds of years of conflict, the white minority government is going to sit with leaders of the oppressed majority for the first time to discuss the creation of a non-racial, democratic and non-sexist SA. Whilst the road may still be rocky before we achieve a popularly elected democratic government, I have no doubt that this dream will soon be a reality.

Much more difficult to envisage however is how the economy [as received] inequalities in South Africa are going to be addressed. On the one hand, black South Africans rightly believe that gaining the political vote is meaningless if control of the economy continues to be dominated by whites. After all, apartheid did not simply politically disadvantage blacks, it resulted in systematic discrimination in the economic sphere as well. It robbed blacks of their land through the Group Areas and Land Acts, robbed them of a decent education through bantu education and separate education, and robbed them of economic mobility through the Pass Laws and job reservation. Whilst most (but not all) of these laws have recently been scrapped, it will take a long time to redress the economic disadvantages suffered by the black community.

On the other hand, we are aware that many white people fear that any moves to address economic inequalities will threaten their property and wealth as well as general economic prosperity. As the issues are sensationalised by some elements of the media, an atmosphere has been created of unnecessary conflict and irrationality. I want to say outright that we in the ANC are concerned with the fears of the white community. We understand that change is a painful process and we want to build reconciliation and consensus as we move towards political democracy. But we cannot sweep the issue of black economic empowerment under the carpet. It

is in the interest of all South Africans, black and white, to jointly emerge with a plan to address these economic inequalities. Failure to do so will lead to extreme option scenarios.

It is in this context that I want to address my talk to SACOB [South African Chamber of Business] today. The ANC wants to build a co-operative relationship with business [word indistinct] we see the private sector playing a central role in the creation of wealth and jobs both now and in a future democratic South Africa. We therefore need to build consensus about the way forward.

The central issue we need to jointly confront is the problem of low growth, poverty and increasing unemployment. This is the greatest problem facing us today, threatening to destroy the social fabric of our society and feeding the spiralling violence and crime. Some estimates of unemployment put it as high as 40 percent. The labour absorption capacity of the formal sector has declined to 6.9 per cent since 1985. Over 90 percent of our youth therefore face no prospect of employment. The problem has assumed that of a national emergency, requiring the co-operation of all in solving it.

The problem of increasing unemployment can be clearly traced to declining investment. Contrary to the view of many apologists for apartheid, the decline in investment (gross domestic fixed investment) began in the mid-seventies, before the 1976 uprising and way in advance of the sanctions campaign.

The decline in investment can be attributed to a number of factors, including a combination of high taxation and inflation, political and economic uncertainty, an inadequate industrial policy strategy, poor capital and labour productivity. All these factors are real problems, and a simplistic or propagandistic approach which ascribes low growth to the sanctions campaign almost exclusively, will not help to overcome these problems. Let us look at each of these factors in more depth.

1) Lack of a Clear Industrial Strategy

We recognise that as long as our economy remains heavily dependent on the mining sector for income, employment and foreign exchange, we will continue to be adversely affected by shifts in the world economy from mineral-intensive production methods to technology-intensive production methods. It is therefore imperative that the manufacturing sector becomes the engine for growth. We accept that the benchmark of the success of the manufacturing industry, whether its products are consumed domestically or exported, is achieving international competitiveness. International competitiveness is now achieved by a crude totting up of costs and then aiming for the lowest priced inputs—the cheapest labour, the lowest taxes, the lowest tariffs to achieve the lowest costs of intermediate inputs. South Africa has potentially rich resources to underpin a successful, internationally competitive manufacturing sector. These include a sophisticated financial sector that requires

more effective regulation: effective labour market institutions—including trade unions—that will facilitate the crucial training process and other productivity enhancing measures; substantial natural resources that if appropriately benefited [as received] will create employment and add value domestically rather than in the economies of other countries. This is the basis of international competitiveness—quality, reliability, delivery. Not cheap, shoddy commodities produced by an underpaid under skilled workforce.

We therefore see the need to evolve a viable industrial policy for SA which is based on this approach. For this reason, that the ANC and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] have decided to commission a major industrial sectoral study. I believe that there is tremendous scope for business to participate in this research. Already the ANC and COSATU have begun to meet business on a sectoral basis, to deepen the level of engagement between us through discussion of the specific challenges facing each sector.

It is only through such co-operation, as we examine the nitty gritty, that we can emerge with a comprehensive industrial strategy for SA. In this sense, it is futile for the IDC [Industrial Development Corporation] to lobby only the government for a change in industrial policy, without participating in an economic forum together with other important economic actors like the ANC and COSATU. It would be to the detriment of us all if, for example, there was conflict over job loss stemming from overnight changes in the tariff structure in the textile industry, when discussion and consultation might result in greater understanding of the issues involved by all parties.

2) Low Productivity

The ANC is also concerned about low productivity in SA. But I would like to emphasize that both capital and labour productivity are low in SA compared to more successful economies in the world. We believe that factors like the relatively low level of education and skills training, as well as the slow rate of advancement of blacks in the economic hierarchy and their general alienation from the fruits of the economy, are significant factors in condemning us to low labour productivity levels. All of these factors will need to be addressed as part of a future economic strategy.

In this process of greater economic consultations, it is vital to prioritise job creation. We are concerned with increasing capital intensity and under-utilised capacity, especially where this entails a loss of jobs. It would be a cop-out by business from addressing issues of redistribution if the shift to capital intensity is a reaction to unionisation.

3) Macro-Economic Stability and Inflation

Macro-economic stability is vital to create investor confidence. We are aware of the way in which inflation is distorting economic relationships. We see the need to ensure a healthy balance of payments, as well as a

realistic exchange rate. We see the dangers of overspending and running massive public deficits especially for current expenditure.

In conducting macro-economic policy, we need to be careful not to adopt simplistic approaches to reducing inflation. Everybody wants to reduce the level of inflation. However inflation is a complex phenomenon. It cannot be regarded as only a monetary phenomenon. Neither is it correct to blame inflation on workers striving to earn a higher wage. This is not to deny that monetary factors and increases in worker wages without concomitant increases in productivity will fuel inflation in SA.

However, we believe that the oligopolistic and monopolistic nature of our economy is also responsible for inflation. Inflation cuts at the very root of the struggle for a more equitable share of income for the majority of South Africans. In this respect, it is not merely business that is affected by inflation. Inflation can and will undermine any strategy for redistribution in SA, and in this respect, it is also in the interest of workers and the poor to reduce inflation.

The ANC is concerned that a strict monetary policy that is not simultaneously supported by a policy to counter oligopolistic control is bound to have limited success only. A high interest rate policy has very high opportunity costs. It clearly makes investment very expensive. If such a policy continues to deepen the recession and increase unemployment, it may well fuel instability in our country. We need to build consensus about a more comprehensive approach towards inflation in order to make any significant progress. This will also ensure that more sustainable economic policy-making will be possible.

4) High Taxation

It is generally accepted a democratic government will face greater pressure to increase state expenditure in order to redress inequalities. The ANC believes that the challenge of financing such development without resorting to inflationary financing such as increasing the tax burden is not merely a problem for the ANC, but of all South Africans.

ANC research to date reveals that the elimination of apartheid duplications, as well as trimming the civil service, are not areas which can significantly reduce government expenditure. We therefore will not be able to rely on these savings alone to address the tremendous distortions in public expenditure that have existed over the last decades.

We are also keenly aware that the nominal level of personal, corporate and indirect taxation is already relatively high and that higher taxation may be counterproductive in terms of growth. But at the same time we are calling on business to appreciate the dilemmas that will face a democratic government, given the inequalities in our society. Business can play a pro-active role in shaping ANC policy on taxation, if business is prepared to contribute both in debate and in

deed in proposing mechanisms to address the tremendous inequalities in our country. We feel that while there is superficial agreement amongst ourselves about the need for redistribution, every time the ANC makes a concrete suggestion in this regard it is met by outrage in the business community. And we will not be persuaded by arguments which stress that economic growth alone is the best way to address poverty. In the 1960's, SA experienced one of the highest growth rates in the world and yet poverty and inequality increased. The ANC is undertaking a major investigation into the tax system over the next two years and we would welcome your inputs and insights in this process.

5) Political Uncertainty

There is no doubt that with the political uncertainty and the possibility of a democratic government, many in business are adopting a wait and see attitude before deciding to invest. It is on this score that I wish to take issue with you. A decision not to invest in a future SA can only be a self-fulfilling prophecy, as it means greater unemployment and crime in the future. We can only break this cycle if you as business decide to break out of it. It is no use calling for foreign investment when local investors don't invest. Foreign investors will follow if they see local business investing in their own country, and undermining the process of reconciliation.

If business is prepared to take this risk, and to do so in a co-operative spirit, it will reap positive results. It will create the right climate for addressing many of the other real economic problems. At the same time, the ANC recognises the need to create a climate conducive to investments. In this respect as part of a future government we are committed to stabilising the country politically and economically. We are committed right now to doing all in our power to reduce violence and crime in our society. We see the need, as I mentioned earlier, for macro-economic stability, reducing inflation and reducing the tax burden when this is possible. But we need business to meet us halfway. Your lack of commitment to productive and social investment is going to have devastating effects on all of our futures.

Conclusion

To conclude, we did not come to you today, pretending that we have all the answers to the economic problems in this country. Neither do we have a fully-developed economic policy. I hope however that I have convinced you that we are more sensitive to the problems facing investors than you may have gathered from reading the newspapers. And we were impressed with your efforts in convening the peace forum. It is in this spirit that we need to go forward. There needs to be greater sensitivity and compromise between us all as we face the enormous economic challenges in South Africa in the 1990's. We believe that the future economic path ahead should not be decided unilaterally. The recent VAT [value-added tax] stayaways should convince even the most recalcitrant that such an approach will be counterproductive.

No one political party, nor business, nor labour, can determine the economic path ahead unilaterally.

It is for this reason that we have called for the creation of an economic forum, to discuss major economic issues, but such discussions need not only happen at a national level. Tremendous scope exists for bilateral discussions between the ANC and business to shape future economic policy. In particular, such discussions should be on a decentralised basis, industry by industry, in order to deal with the specific challenges facing each sector. Regional and local discussions with community organisations are also essential. Let us start building our future together instead of continuing with the polarisation of the past.

PAC Warns of Pretoria-Tel Aviv 'Axis'

*MB1311180091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1717 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 13 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Wednesday called on the international community to "carefully scrutinize the Pretoria/Tel Aviv axis" and condemn all forms of cooperation between South Africa and Israel.

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, made the call in light of State President F.W. de Klerk's visit to Israel.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha met up with the South African delegation in Israel this week after an unofficial visit to Moscow.

Mr Ebrahim on Wednesday drew attention to reported remarks by Mr Botha saying that, in the absence of any mention of cooperation in the military and nuclear fields between the two countries, he hoped "this will finally eliminate the suspicion of some dark conspiracy between us (Israel and SA [South Africa])".

"The truth is that the absence of any mention of military and nuclear cooperation in public during the visit of De Klerk to Israel must cast doubt that all forms of cooperation in these fields have now ceased," charged Mr Ebrahim.

In a statement he called on the international community "to carefully scrutinize the Pretoria/Tel Aviv axis and all agreements entered into and condemn all forms of cooperation (between SA and Israel), especially in the nuclear and military fields".

Student Group President Reaffirms Support for PAC

*MB1311194291 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] The president of the Pan Africanist Students Organization [PASO] has reaffirmed his organization's support for the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress].

Yesterday, PASO's general secretary issued a statement criticizing the PAC leadership for going into talks with the government, and threatening to pull the student body out of the PAC.

But today the PASO president, (Langelo Mbandazayo), has issued a statement saying it's not true. (Mbandazayo) says PASO is fully behind the PAC leadership and that his general secretary is completely out of line.

The PASO wrangle could prove embarrassing for Azapo's [Azanian People's Organization] youth wing, too. The Azanian Youth Organization, Azayo, released a statement today saluting PASO's supposed stand on contacts with the government.

Azanian Youth Support PAC Youth on Talks

*MB1311194391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1848 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 13 SAPA—The Azanian Youth Organisation [Azayo] on Wednesday saluted the decision taken by the Pan-Africanist Congress' [PAC] student wing in rejecting the pre-constituent assembly meeting on Friday.

Azayo President Mr Thami Mcerwa said in a statement: "We welcome the position taken by the PAC student wing, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation [PASO], in opposing the African National Congress, South African Government and the PAC planned Friday meeting of the pre-constituent assembly".

"PASO, Azanyu and Azayo have planned a meeting, although the date is still to be confirmed, to discuss... the outcome of the results of the Patriotic Front."

Mr Mcerwa added "this meeting is to ensure that the Azanian youth in particular and the black working class are not used as pawns in the government inter-woven by the F.W. de Klerk regime".

The statement suggested that the planned meeting would also focus on the powers given to the minister of constitutional and development affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, as the chief negotiator for the "discredited homelands" at the all party conference.

Azapo Urges Christmas Anti-VAT Consumer Boycott

*MB1111192391 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1400 GMT 11 Nov 91*

[Text] Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] wants a consumer boycott over Christmas. At its National Council meeting over the weekend, Azapo suggested the campaign against VAT [value-added tax] be intensified by calling for a consumer boycott between the middle of December and early January.

The organization wants white business to be targeted nationwide. Publicity Secretary Strini Moodley has announced the call at a news conference in Durban:

[Begin Moodley recording] Azapo has agreed in principle to embark on a consumer boycott during the December holidays. The campaign will be called under the slogan of: Asinamali, asithengi, asifuni iVAT; no money, no

buying, no VAT. The decision has been taken in principle, so that Azapo can discuss the campaign with other organizations and call for the establishment of a committee, which will plan the nationwide consumer boycott. [end recording]

Moodley said even if other organizations disagree with the call for a black Christmas, Azapo may still go ahead on its own. That's the second call for a consumer boycott over Christmas. Last week the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal [CAST] called for a black Christmas to protest what it alleged to be police collusion in attacks on CAST members.

Azanian Students Urge Boycott Support

*MB1311174391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1704 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 13 SAPA—The Azanian Students Movement (ASM) on Wednesday expressed its solidarity with the consumer boycott called by the Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo] and Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal [CAST] for December 15 to January 2.

The ASM's deputy president, Mr Sekhlo Sekhonyane, said in a statement the movement also rejected the proposed all-party/multiparty congress.

"Azapo, as the custodian of the black revolution in our country, deserves our support especially because this boycott campaign is aimed at white-owned businesses...."

Mr Sekhonyane said that at this time, when black solidarity was "more important than ever", the ASM urged the black community to support the boycott "to hit the capitalists as a step towards the destruction of the whole system of suppression and exploitation in our country".

He said the ASM praised the Pan African Students Organisation (PASO) for distancing itself from the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], which had entered into pre-constituent assembly talks "with the discredited regime".

"We also remind the black community that the struggle needs stamina. Those who want to enter the racist parliament should be allowed to do so, but should ensure that the aspirations of the oppressed are not subverted in favour of...sell-out negotiations."

Ciskei's Gqozo Welcomes Pretoria's Support

*MB1311194591 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1400 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Ciskei has welcomed the announcement by acting Foreign Affairs Minister Barend du Plessis that the South African Government has no intention of supporting an interim government for the homeland.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo says he expected no less, because State President F. W. de Klerk is a man of honor and credibility. Gqozo says the South African Government has shown it is not being misled by the hysteria of a group of misinformed individuals who are unwilling to recognize the efforts being made to ensure peace.

He says it is quite clear that Pretoria is fully aware of the real situation in Ciskei.

Agriculture Minister on Land Redistribution Idea

*MB111115291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1053 GMT 11 Nov 91*

[Text] Durban Nov 11 SAPA—Irresponsible remarks made in some circles regarding the general redistribution of land did not serve the long-term interests of agriculture, the minister of agriculture and of agricultural development, Dr Kraai van Niekerk, said on Monday [11 November]. He told an agriculture indaba at Scottburgh such aspirations did not take into account the realities of agriculture in South Africa and would only serve to stimulate emotions and create expectations which could not be met in practice because of economic realities.

It would eventually only serve the interests of those who did not want viable and peaceful solutions to the problems of South Africa. "We cannot turn a blind eye to what happened in the rest of the world, where redistribution and nationalisation were applied, and the dire consequences of such a policy," said Dr van Niekerk. "We must embark on a policy to enhance growth and not to stifle it. If we intend to distribute wealth in South Africa, it would serve no purpose to redistribute the well-developed commercial agricultural sector."

Damaging the commercial sector through nationalisation would only lead South Africa on the path of eventual total despair and poverty. The steady destruction that was taking place in Africa and the attendant worsening economic and political record of African countries should be a lesson to all involved in shaping the future of agriculture in South Africa. "We will not shy away from the reform process, although it is an unhappy fact that the costs of adjustment have to be borne before the overall benefits become fully apparent. I am however optimistic that the fruits of private ownership will eventually be reaped by agriculture," Dr van Niekerk said.

Minister Louw Named Acting Speaker of Parliament

*MB1311161191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1245 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by SA [South African] Communication Service on Wednesday, 13 November 1991: "Press statement regarding the appointment of Acting Speaker"—received in Afrikaans]

[Text] In terms of the Constitution, the appointment of a speaker is decided by a parliamentary electoral college. As a cost-saving measure, the electoral college will only be constituted shortly before the opening of Parliament next year. In the meantime it has been decided, in accordance with Article 58 of the Constitution, to fill the vacancy by appointing an acting speaker.

Consequently, Minister Eli van der Merwe Louw has been appointed acting speaker with effect from 14 November 1991. He will also be the National Party candidate for election as speaker.

Justice Minister Mr. H.J. Coetsee is appointed acting minister of manpower. It is not intended to fill this post with a permanent appointment in the near future. In view of this change, Deputy Justice Minister D.P.A. Schutte also assumes additional responsibility as deputy minister of manpower.

Issued by the Office of the State President

Pretoria

[Dated] 13 November 1991

DP Says Louw Not Suitable for Post

*MB1411094591 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 14 Nov 91*

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] has criticized the appointment of Manpower Minister Mr. Eli Louw as

acting speaker of Parliament, saying the opposition party should have been consulted or at least informed of the appointment. Mr. Louw, whose appointment follows the death of Mr. Louis Le Grange, is also the National Party's candidate for the election of a speaker before the opening of Parliament next year. DP Chief Whip Mr. David Dalling said in a statement that his party did not think that Mr. Louw was suitable for the post.

CP Congratulates Louw on Appointment

*MB1411114491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0945 GMT 14 Nov 91*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 14 SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] has congratulated the minister of manpower, Mr Eli Louw, on his appointment as acting speaker of Parliament, and as the National Party candidate for the permanent position.

But, in a statement on Thursday, the CP chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, said it seemed strange that other possible candidates, such as Dr Helgard van Rensburg, had been overlooked.

The CP said Mr Louw's new position represented a "sideways promotion".

It was disturbing, said Mr le Roux, who is also his party's chief manpower spokesman, that South Africa would in fewer than 10 years have its fourth minister of manpower.

Angola**Government, RSA To Open 'Representation Offices'***MB2810185491 Dakar PANA in English 1820 GMT
28 Oct 91*

[Excerpt] Luanda, 28 Oct (ANGOP/PANA)—The governments of Angola and South Africa [RSA] will soon open representation offices in the capitals of the respective countries, it was announced in Luanda Monday.

The announcement [was made] by the director general of the South African Foreign Affairs' Ministry, Neil van Heerden, when he met the press at the end of an audience with the Angolan president, Eduardo dos Santos.

[Words indistinct] establishment of the officers that will facilitate better communication between Luanda and Pretoria, although details of their status are still to be worked out. [passage omitted]

Dos Santos Receives Opposition Leaders 28 Oct*MB2810204491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 28 Oct 91*

[Text] Paulino Pinto Joao, leader of the Angolan National Democratic Convention, today announced the creation of the National Opposition Council when he was received by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda's Futungo de Belas ward. The audience was held within the framework of meetings with political parties.

Pinto Joao said he discussed issues related to the evolution of the country's political situation.

[Begin Joao recording] His Excellency, the president of the Republic, kindly informed us about the on-going process—namely, the implementation of the Bicesse Accords, and the shortcomings experienced with the implementation of the accords. We exchanged views about the elections.

His Excellency also informed us that a body has been created to liaise with the various political parties. It is called the National Opposition Council [words indistinct]. The body will deal with elections, review of the constitution, and other laws. [end recording]

The Angolan president also received Manuel Artur Domingos, secretary general of the Democratic Forum, and N'gola Cabango, member of the FNLA [Angola National Liberation Front] Political Bureau.

Domingos said that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos made a number of proposals on elections, to which he will reply within six days:

[Begin Domingos recording] Our meeting was within the framework of meetings that the president of the Republic had promised to hold with political parties. He

advanced a number of proposals to the emerging political parties so that the latter could comment. At today's meeting he formally gave us his proposals and asked us to give a written reply within six days.

The proposals discuss the elections and who can vote. The election timetable is also included in the proposals. [end recording]

N'gola Cabango said that the president of the Republic gave him proposals on the general political situation. Cabango said that his party will assess the proposals.

[Begin recording] [Cabango] [Words indistinct] a number of proposals. We will assess them.

[Unidentified reporter] At your recent news conference, you made a number of accusations against the government and the head of state. Did you renew those accusations at today's meeting?

[Cabango] I would not described them as accusations. We are opposed to a number of [words indistinct]. We have publicly stated our views, and the president of the Republic [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Refugees To Return From Zaire, Zambia Early 1992*MB0111135791 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese
1940 GMT 31 Oct 91*

[Text] Luanda, 31 Oct (ANGOP)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] announced in Luanda on 29 October that the repatriation of Angolan refugees from Zaire and Zambia will begin in April or May 1992. Nicolas Bwakira, UNHCR regional director for Africa, disclosed that information at a news conference.

Bwakira said that there are some 400,000 Angolan refugees in Zaire and Zambia. He said that 300,000 of them want to return home, but this requires large sums of money. He did not elaborate.

Bwakira added that it is necessary to build reception centers for returning refugees and to hire vehicles. He said that government has promised to cooperate with the UNHCR in the disarming of landmines and reconstruction of bridges.

UNITA, MPLA Officials on 'Murder' Probe*MB2610202091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 26 Oct 91*

[Interview with Paulo Lucamba, secretary of the Standing Political Commission of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, at unspecified place on 26 October; and statement by Colonel Fernando da Piedade Nando, representative of the Angolan Government within the Joint Political and Military Commission, at unspecified place on 24 October]

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, reacted today to Angolan Government accusations that it is hindering investigation work to verify the accuracy of the facts on the death of Colonel Lourenco Makanga, former UNITA deputy secretary general. Paulo Lucamba, secretary of the UNITA Standing Political Commission, had this to say:

[Begin Lucamba recording] We are well aware of the diversionary ploys used by that Stalinist repressive machine. We know how it works. The survivors of that attack are around. They have been seen by responsible observers. They are willing to face the Inquiry Commission so that the accuracy of the facts can be verified. We are in no doubt whatever. We do not wish to make inflammatory statements. It is with great serenity that we say we would like this issue to be clarified and that the Angolan Government forces are responsible for the murder of the UNITA deputy secretary general. [end recording]

Paulo Lucamba said this a government ploy to confuse the public, following the accusation made by Colonel Fernando da Piedade Nando on behalf of the government on 24 October.

[Begin Nando recording] I think it is useful to note that UNITA should be the most interested side in the clarification of this issue. Yet, UNITA has helped neither the investigation organs nor the legal prosecution organs. Let us look at the problem: Any criminal deed must be investigated and tried where it took place by competent local authorities. UNITA has transferred two survivors of that incident to Luanda. According to information we have received, one of those persons has already arrived in Jamba.

UNITA has made illegal use of evidence that would have helped clarify the case. I am talking about the vehicle that was carrying the victim and about a bag that had been in the victim's hands. The investigation organs believe that bag could be an important item in their efforts to clarify the case. In any event, the local organs are acting in coordination with the Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF. They are continuing their work to clarify once and for all who is responsible for that crime. [end recording]

UNITA's Chief of Staff on Troop Confinement

MB2710080891 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Interview with General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, chief of staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, by Manuel Fragoso on 26 October; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Fragoso] Comrade General Ben-Ben, we thank you for this interview. What is the logistical situation of Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, personnel in the assembly areas?

[Ben-Ben] The leadership of our movement and FALA is fully committed to the acquisition of food for our troops and those of People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, that is, the government troops. Actually, that commitment was pretty obvious during the last visit to the United States by the comrade president and supreme commander.

The first food consignments have begun to arrive. That is proof of our leadership's efforts to uphold discipline in the assembly areas.

[Fragoso] Comrade General, what is the level of discipline and organization among FALA units in the assembly areas? Are you happy, or have there been problems?

[Ben-Ben] We have not had had any problems. In fact, we will always strive for discipline among FALA ranks. Moreover, FALA forces, who have won the war and the peace, should not be disbanded because, with General Savimbi, their president and supreme commander, in charge they are the guarantee of security for the people and the nation.

[Fragoso] Comrade General, have all assembly areas received food and other requirements?

[Ben-Ben] Not as yet. We have had logistical problems. Some routes have not yet been open to road traffic. Our leadership has already informed all units that have not yet received the first food consignments that efforts are being made to overcome existing delays. We will deal with the problem once and for all in order to uphold discipline and unity. Afterward, we will be able to fully implement the peace accord.

[Fragoso] Comrade Gen. Arlindo Chenda Isaac Pena Ben-Ben, we thank you for your interview. Feel free to add anything on the confinement of troops. You may now convey any message to FALA and FAPLA troops confined to assembly areas, party militants, and the Angolan people.

[Ben-Ben] I would like to address FALA forces in particular because FAPLA troops are confined to different assembly points, although the latter have been benefiting from our logistical operation. FALA forces have facilitated the peace process by the manner in which they are being confined to assembly points. The same should be done by FAPLA leaders in order to avoid problems with the confinement of troops. At present, we have the logistical capability to confine all troops. So, the logistical problems have been overcome. If troops are not confined to assembly areas, we will have problems in recruiting members for the new Angolan Armed Forces.

FALA forces are complying with the confinement process. Discipline ought to be upheld. In doing so, we will help fulfill the peace accords signed by our supreme leaders. So, I would like to urge FAPLA forces to make a concerted effort. We are making ours.

'Single National Army' Slated in November

MB3110123791 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] The establishment of a single national army will begin in 15 days, approximately. About 50 military instructors will be trained in a first phase.

The future Angolan armed forces will be made up of 50,000 men. The army will have 40,000 men, while the air force and the navy will have 6,000 and 4,000 men, respectively.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the government will each present half of the number of armed forces mentioned above—that is 25,000 men.

The training process, which on UNITA's side will be led by Division General Abilio Camarada Numa, will begin on 15 November, which is also the deadline for troops' confinement, as was agreed upon during the 16th ordinary session of the Joint Political and Military Commission.

Mozambique

ANC's Zuma on Frelimo Ties; RSA Developments

MB3010141291 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with ANC Deputy Secretary General Jacob Zuma by Radio Mozambique reporter Jose Tembe in Maputo; date not given—from the "Outlook Africa" program]

[Text] The deputy secretary general of the African National Congress, ANC, Jacob Zuma, was in Maputo on a working visit to Mozambique. To find out more about why Mr. Zuma was here, reporter Jose Tembe has been talking to him.

[Begin recording] [Zuma] My visit to Mozambique, firstly, I was (?like) visiting home. Mozambique is my second home. As you would know, I stayed in Mozambique more than any other place when I left South Africa. It became my home. I knew the people in general. I knew a few comrades in Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] and the government. So, to me, it was more like coming back home.

But, of course, it has also been in the context of the current situation that is taking place in our region, particularly in South Africa. (?so) I was also seeing our office here [words indistinct] (?some) consultations in certain matters. The more important thing in the process was that I have been able to meet with the leadership of the Frelimo Party, and had briefings about the process taking place in South Africa with the secretary general of the Frelimo Party. It was a very useful discussion and exchange.

I had also a meeting with the foreign minister, also very useful. During these two meetings, I was able to (?give a) briefing of what is happening in South Africa and also the comrades from both the party and government gave me a briefing about the peace process in Mozambique. It was very useful for our own organization to know, and also (?we) touched on a number of important points in relation to our own relations between the two parties, in particular. So, the visit has been, indeed, very (?useful) to both of us.

[Tembe] A new movement called Patriotic Front has been recently (?put up) in South Africa and [words indistinct] the ruling National Party, which has been excluded from [words indistinct] is not happy. What comments do you have on that?

[Zuma] Well, I don't believe that the National Party or the ruling party is happy about this. As you know, over the centuries, the (?national debate) is always used by the oppressors. You see, this is a question of divide and rule. We recall that historically in South Africa, on constitutional questions, we have always, particularly the black majority, have always been excluded from any constitutional development or change in the country. This was the case in [word indistinct] and that, in fact, was one of the issues that led us starting fighting, struggling against the rulers in South Africa.

You will also recall that in 1961, when there was also some developments around the continent, and South Africa became Republic of South Africa, there were also a number of things that took place around that time, as well as in the early eighties, when the tricameral parliament was established. We have always been excluded. We have never had an opportunity to come together. There is a general [words indistinct] fear from the government that if the black oppressed, those who have been excluded from the government, if they came together, there (?would be more) of a danger to them. That is the fear.

They would have loved to see a situation where, if we were to come into a roundtable discussion with all parties, we should come there as depleted, as divided parties, perhaps with disagreements among ourselves so that the discussions around the table on the Constitution could be dominated by the animosity among ourselves. So, our coming together, in a sense, tends to defeat that kind of feeling and [words indistinct] going to be moving into constitutional discussions with less kind of animosity and disagreements among ourselves, that is the organizations that have been fighting for freedom. It is a legitimate step and a necessary step that we come together and harmonize issues [words indistinct] issues that divide us which, in fact, should not be the issues that divide us, so that we could move but, in a sense, it is also helping the [words indistinct] this process to reach our new Constitution.

[Tembe] Well, the South African Government plans to hold a conference involving all political parties in the country before the end of the year. What do you think of it?

[Zuma] Well, I am not certain whether it is the South African Government that is planning it. I would like to believe that we, from the ANC, have [word indistinct] with that kind of necessity. We said this in January this year that, as one of the important steps toward a new Constitution, we need an all-party-congress. Having said that, this was then accepted and agreed. So, it is not a plan by the National Party. They are actually reacting to what we are saying. Of course, they are calling it multi-party conference. We are definitely for the all-party-congress that must take place as soon as possible.

The nature of [words indistinct] as we saw and as we still see it, is that it is important for all political parties to meet in a conference where we could then work out and discuss some of the key issues relating to the processes [words indistinct] (?one) of the issues we would like to discuss, which we have been putting across all the time, is the issue of the interim government. It is an issue of the Constituent Assembly. It is an issue of constitutional [word indistinct] which we think should form a framework of the Constitution so that when a body that will draw Constitution should have some guidelines. [sentence as heard] We have put across this question on the Patriotic Front and these have been agreed. We have further added the issue of the reincorporation of the homelands, all of them, independent and self-governing, because it is an important element to be (?placed) on board now when we are due to discuss the Constitution as well as the issue of political tolerance. [end recording]

Namibia

Nujoma on Foreign Affairs, Economy, Investments
MB2910205891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1935 GMT 29 Oct 91

[By Carmen Honey]

[Text] Windhoek Oct 29 SAPA—In addition to the 13 diplomatic missions established around the world, Namibia is to open an interest office in South Africa "very soon", President Sam Nujoma said on Tuesday.

He was speaking at the opening of the fourth session of the first National Assembly in Windhoek.

Mr Nujoma said Namibia intended taking an even more active role in international affairs in the future "including pursuing all peaceful avenues open to us to have Walvis Bay fully reintegrated into Namibia".

In his speech in the renovated historic Tintenpalast, Mr Nujoma said people and nations the world over were yearning for democracy and multi-partyism.

"We are, indeed, living in a new world order in which cold war rivalries seem to be something of the past," he said welcoming the reconciliation spreading across the globe as diplomatic intercourse was depoliticised and nations grappled with issues of economic development.

"The democracy that others are clamouring for in other parts of the world has been firmly embedded in Namibia," Mr Nujoma said.

Efforts by the Namibian Government to achieve economic growth, create employment, reduce income disparities and alliviate poverty were helped by financial assistance through agreements with a number of friendly countries.

Mr Nujoma said R[and]316 million, pledged at an international donors conference in New York last year, was secured between April to September this year.

"As much as we appreciate foreign aid, my government is clearly aware that Namibia's economic success will not be achieved through foreign financial assistance alone, but through creating a climate conducive to foreign investment with hard work by us all," Mr Nujoma stressed.

A concerted effort had been launched by the Ministries of Finance and Trade and Industry "to hammer out an attractive investment package" for foreign investors.

The speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Mose Tjiten-dero, called the opening "truly historic".

"As you can see the Assembly Hall is finally a reflection of our hopes, dreams and aspirations as a free people," he said.

From the time construction on the German verandah style building began in 1910 to the 1991 renovations, Namibians had changed from being spectators to "architects of our own future".

Swaziland

Italian Delegation Assures Continued Economic Ties
MB1411182891 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network
in English 1600 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The Italian deputy foreign minister, Mr. Andrea Borruso, leading an eight-man delegation, has assured the prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, that his country will continue its economic cooperation with Swaziland.

Speaking at Cabinet House [as heard] where his delegation called on the prime minister, the Italian deputy foreign minister said his country wants to strengthen relations to other economic fields with the Kingdom of Swaziland.

The chief of protocol, Mr. Harry Mabuza, who escorted the Italian deputy foreign minister, said the prime minister's discussion with the Italian delegation centered on the various forms of assistance Swaziland receives from Italy, like medical doctors.

The Italian delegation has since left the country for home.

Prince: King Surrounded by Plotting 'Strangers'

MB1011114691 Mbabane THE TIMES
OF SWAZILAND SUNDAY in English 10 Nov 91
pp 1-2

[By Pat Jele: "Sinister strangers around King!"]

[Text] The King is surrounded by "Strangers," who have isolated him so much that he is even unable to maintain contact with members of the royal family.

Speakers at the Lozitha Inkhundla [Traditional Community Council] said yesterday that these strangers are going to plot for his downfall.

Army Lieutenant Prince Simelane said as a result, the King does not include members of the royal family in any of his committees because of the influence he gets from the "Strangers."

"What is most painful is that if this plot by these strangers is successfully, the Nation will blame us.....members of the royal household for sitting back and watching the King being misled.

"We are left outside and kept away from the King by these strangers. This is exactly what happened to Gogo [granny] Dzeliwe [former queen regent]. When she stood firm against corruption, she found herself deposed," he said.

"She did not want to be misused by individuals and the Likoqo [former supreme council of state] Government of the time did not like that and plotted against her and finally deposed her. The King too must be aware of this thing before its too late, he said.

He cited the example of PUDEMO [People's United Democratic Movement], saying this organisation was established because of the infringement of people's rights by people close to the King.

He called for freedom of speech, freedom of association, press freedom adding that members of the underground movements should be called to a negotiation table so that they also air their grievances without fear of being arrested and detained.

Speaker after speaker submitted to the committee that the people close to the King are corrupt, misleading him to achieve their own selfish ends. "The King must do something before the plot against him by these people close to him is a success. We like the monarch. We need it and so he must do away with these people."

Mr Mabele Khumalo said the King should lead this country together with the Queen Mother, Emakhosikati [King's wives] and members of the royal family.

"It is very surprising and painful to see the King not keeping in contact with members of the royal family in matters pertaining the leadership of this country. He now leads this country together with bo- [bo indicates plural form] Khumalo, bo-Hlophe and bo-Mkhatshwa. "This suggests that the King is not a Dlamini because he neglects them. This country is heading for disaster if the King would rather work closer with these bo-Khumalo, bo-Hlophe and bo-Mkhatshwa, people whose bad acts in the past are known."

Another Speaker, Prince Hlangabeza told the Prince Masitsela Vusela [greetings] Committee that some Swazis are power and money hungry.

He said they campaign for positions even though they were given a chance before and failed to do a satisfactory job for the Nation.

The Prince asked the committee to ask the King why he always considers appointing some certain individuals into high position though they also got a chance in the past and produced poor results.

"We are very bitter about this because these appointees end up ill treating their juniors at work claiming that they are the King's right hand people.

"Though the King's order is final, but I feel that he must be told that he is dishing more for a certain individual instead of satisfying the whole nation. Prince Cetshwayo said such people end up being very impossible and difficult to deal with.

He said the people close to the King are like hungry lions and responsible for the cropping up of political parties.

Prince Mabizela said that the Prime Minister should not be given more powers, citing the example of Lesotho where the Prime Minister eventually demoted the King.

The Prince Masitsela Vusela Committee is meeting the Lobamba Inkhundla today.

'Controversial' Youth Group Opens More Branches

MB1211074891 Mbabane THE TIMES OF
SWAZILAND in English 12 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by Nimrod Mabuza: "Swayoco [Swaziland Youth Congress] Opens New Branch"]

[Text] The controversial Swaziland Youth Congress (Swayoco) is gradually taking control of the youth in Manzini.

The group has recently opened several branches in almost all the main townships.

Last weekend Swayoco opened its branch at the Ka-Khoza location and its membership is composed mainly of the unemployed.

Swayoco, which was inaugurated over three months ago in Manzini under a cloud of controversy, has branches in Zakhele, Moneni, Ngwane Park and Ka-Khoza.

Each of the branches has its own executive. The Ka-Khoza branch is lead by Mfanisibili Simelane and his vice is John Smith.

The Secretary is Mkhumbuleni Mabuza and his vice is S. Simelane. Mduduzi Luhlanga is the treasurer and Mayoyo Khoza is the public relations officer.

Committee members are; Samuel Simelane and Willard Dlamini.

Secretary of the branch, Mkhumbuleni Mabuza said the group has undertaken its first project.

"We had a cleaning campaign and we were moving around Ka-Khoza picking up litter," he said.

He said the elections held last weekend were supervised by Benedict Tsabedze and Mphandlana Phongwe who are the president and vice-president of Swayoco, respectively.

The two officials could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Swayoco, it was learnt yesterday is still an illegal organization as it is not registered anywhere in Swaziland.

When the group was inaugurated, certain government officials who were invited did not turn-up. Among them was the Prime Minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini and the Indvuna [governor] of Tinkhundla [traditional community council] Mndeni Shabalala.

Mr. Shabalala later said that he did not attend because the meeting was of a political nature.

It is an open secret that many people believe that Swayoco is linked to the clandestine People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemo).

But the executive of Swayoco has repeatedly denied any connection with Pudemo.

Zambia

Government Withdraws UNIP Diplomatic Passports

MB2011103591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0941 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Lusaka Nov 20 SAPA—The Zambian Government has announced that all leaders of the defeated

United National Independence Party [UNIP] government will have their diplomatic passports withdrawn.

Deputy Minister for Home Affairs Mr Chanda Sosola said in Lusaka on Wednesday that parastatal chiefs and other UNIP leaders must surrender their diplomatic passports to the state.

Mr Sosola said ordinary passports would instead be issued to diplomatic passport holders. "This exercise is a normal routine whenever there is a change of power," he added.

Former Home Affairs Minister Gen Kingsley Chinkuli and Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines [ZCCM] chairman and chief executive, Mr Francis Kaunda, had their diplomatic passports withdrawn last week.

Mr Kaunda has since been sacked from the ZCCM together with several other parastatal chiefs considered by the new regime as responsible for Zambia's economic stagnation.

President Frederick Chiluba's administration is currently purging the parastatal firms and government institutions deemed to have contributed to the present political and economic malaise in which only a small elite and close confidants of former President Kenneth Kaunda benefited.

Kaunda's Diplomatic Passport Withdrawn

MB2111174491 Dakar PANA in French 1605 GMT
21 Nov 91

[Text]? The new Zambian Government has decided to withdraw the diplomatic passport of former President Kenneth Kaunda, and replace it with an ordinary one.

In Lusaka yesterday, Zambian Deputy Interior Minister Clanda Sosola told the ZAMBIAN DAILY MAIL government newspaper, that "it would not be normal for Mr. Kaunda to continue using a diplomatic passport which confers upon him the title of head of state when he is not." "This would be the same as misappropriating a title", he said, and noted that the new government is currently confiscating diplomatic passports from former officials.

The minister added that the former leaders are currently the focus of an investigation to ensure that they have left intact the offices they occupied.

Meanwhile, the deputy minister confirmed that yesterday his men confiscated government vehicles from Mr. Grey Zulu, former United National Independence Party secretary general; former Prime Minister Malimba Masheke; and from Mr. Alex Shapi, former secretary of state for defense and security.

Benin**Government Reportedly To Seek Ties With Israel**

*AB0511203791 Paris AFP in English 1822 GMT
5 Nov 91*

[Text] Cotonou, Nov 5 (AFP)—Benin hopes to reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel "very rapidly," Benin's Foreign Minister Theodore Holo said in an interview with the official daily newspaper, *THE NATION*, published Tuesday [5 November].

He said authorities in this small West African state had the "will to reevaluate" relations with Middle East nations, "including Israel." He did not disclose a timetable for normalizing the ties.

The minister added that Benin should defend the existence of the Jewish state "because it conforms to United Nations' resolutions."

Benin was one of many African countries to sever relations with Israel after the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. Holo also said his country should "support efforts at democratizing politics in South Africa."

France Donates Military Equipment to Armed Forces

*AB1711123291 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio Network in French
1930 GMT 15 Nov 91*

[Text] The Beninese Armed Forces just received a significant shipment of equipment from France. The ceremony for the donation, estimated at more than 400 million CFA francs, took place yesterday and was chaired by the French ambassador, his excellency Guy-Marie Azais. Minister Florentin Feliho, who received the donation in Porto Novo, expressed the government's gratitude to Ambassador Azais.

Burkina Faso**Compaore Reiterates Stand on National Conference**

*AB0911134591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 0700 GMT 9 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Togolese Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh left Burkina Faso yesterday after a 24-hour friendly visit. At the end of this visit is the willingness of the two countries to strengthen their relations and especially to reactivate the joint economic cooperation commission between them is noted.

Just before his departure for Lome, the two statesmen answered questions from reporters, beginning with Mr. Koffigoh, who gave his impressions about the democratic process in Burkina Faso. [passage omitted]

Then came the turn of head of state Blaise Compaore, who answered a question from a Togolese reporter who wanted to know if the doors of dialogue are still open to

the opposition and if the government will change its position on the sovereign national conference demanded by the opposition.

[Begin Compaore recording] We are in a democratic system. This means that elections will be organized and the head of state, as in all democratic countries, can (?run) [words indistinct]. So we are organizing the elections, and those who wish to participate can do so, and those who do not want to participate are considered outside the democratic game. We still feel, however, that dialogue can be engaged in on the basis of respect for our institutions and on the respect for the authority and prerogatives of the head of state in this transitional period. So we feel that dialogue is possible in order to preserve our process, but such a dialogue cannot be held outside the framework of (?the Constitution). [end recording]

Compaore Comments on Upcoming 1 Dec Elections

*AB1011200091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 10 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] With elections scheduled for 1 December, the presidential campaign has begun in Burkina Faso. Only one candidate is officially contesting the election: Blaise Compaore, the current president of the Republic. The man behind the removal of Thomas Sankara has refused to change the date of the elections, which is being demanded by the opposition. Compaore says the election will proceed on the planned date in line with the provisions of the new constitution. Here is Blaise Compaore:

[Begin recording] The majority of our people voted in favor of the constitution, even the parties who are demonstrating today for a sovereign organ, which to us is against the constitution and has no place in our transitional period today. We think that the majority who voted for the constitution are going to support the vote, which is the only technique that, at least for now, enables the people to express their sovereignty, state their points of view, and to choose. So it is certain that the majority supports the constitution and it is this majority that is going to the polls in the coming elections. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Candidate Damiba Returns, Comments on Elections

*AB1011212091 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 9 Nov 91*

[Text] Pierre-Claver Damiba, the presidential candidate of the National Convention of Progressive Patriots-Social Democratic Party, who has been expected in Burkina Faso since October, arrived in Ouagadougou this morning. At the Ouagadougou international airport where he met the press, Mr. Damiba explained why he was just arriving today.

[Begin recording] [Damiba] Since the declaration of my presidential candidacy, my actual release has not been easy. As you must know, I am an international official of very high standing, and ending a long-term contract is

not simple. So, for (?typical) reasons, it was necessary to take time to solve that problem. I also had to make appointments with a number of partners with whom I worked for some 10-odd years. All of this led to my arriving only today. I am going to tell you something. It is important when a son of the country returns home and is welcomed with great simplicity. You know that my style has always been very direct and simple. I am very much in contact with the men, women, children, and old people. So (?this stance) agrees with my style of simple and direct relations with people.

[Unidentified reporter] As a potential candidate for the presidency and working on the outside, you were no doubt following the events happening here, even if from a distance. What is your assessment of the situation?

[Damiba] The events should be looked at from a distance and then approached. Now that I am very close, give me some time to examine the scene and the exact situation before commenting.

[Unidentified reporter] You have removed yourself as a presidential candidate. Can you tell us why?

[Damiba] I think you know the reasons: it was a collective and concerted decision and I have no others besides the ones given by the various colleagues who are candidates for the presidential election.

[Unidentified reporter] Is Pierre-Claver (?still a) Burkinabe?

[Damiba] I am a Burkinabe like you. Consequently, I can return to my country at any time, see my relatives, see my friends, and discuss problems that affect Burkina Faso. [end recording]

Urges Soldiers Not To Shoot Citizens

AB1011214091 Paris AFP in English 1854 GMT
10 Nov 91

[Text] Ouagadougou, Nov 10 (AFP)—Pierre-Claver Damiba, a leader of the opposition in Burkina Faso, appealed Sunday [10 November] to soldiers to refuse to "open fire on their brothers".

Damiba, former regional director for Africa of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), is one of six opposition figures who had declared themselves candidates in a presidential election scheduled for December 1 but who are now boycotting it.

He returned to the country Friday [8 November] to concentrate on political activity.

Speaking Sunday at a meeting in Ouagadougou, Damiba expressed the hope that "from now on, any soldier under arms who receives an order to kill has the courage not carry it out against a Burkinabe brother".

He observed that of 30 years of independence in Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), 25 had been under military regimes. "That's enough," he declared.

Report on 10 Nov Rally Speech

AB1111182591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] The CNPP-PSD [National Convention of Progressive Patriots-Social Democratic Party] held a rally this morning to present its presidential candidate to the public. The opposition candidate is Pierre-Claver Damiba, who was selected during the party congress on 7 September.

Let us listen to Yacouba Konate:

[Begin Konate recording] Burkina Faso needs a peace loving man, a man of reconciliation, a technocrat, and a man who believes in God. The candidate, according to the CNPP-PSD, who has all of these qualities is Pierre-Claver Damiba, an international civil servant who no needs no introduction.

Thousands of CNPP-PSD activists and supporters thronged the People's Palace this morning in Ouagadougou along with the party's leaders. They all came to see and hear their party's candidate.

As an introduction, Mr. Damiba said that the meeting was intended to show the courage and sense of responsibility which will honor those who died fighting for democracy by showing that they did not die in vain. He said that 25 years of military rule are enough. For him, the five civilian candidates at the presidential elections represent the hope for a civilian alternative in Burkina Faso. The CNPP-PSD candidate focused on three essential points, youth, women and the military before tackling current political issues.

For Mr. Damiba, women come first because they constitute a majority of the citizens. He also said that he resigned from the National Union for Democracy and Progress to run for the presidential seat in order to work for a better future for Burkina and a new era.

Commenting on the Army, Mr. Damiba said that it should play an essential role in helping unite the nation, in promoting youth, in ensuring the integrity of the territory, and it should participate in the country's economic development. He believes that the Army has more or less played that role. Nonetheless, he deplored its involvement in the politics which often led the military to take action against civilians. The Army should withdraw from political activities and devote itself to the functions so noted previously.

Shifting to current political issues, Mr. Damiba regretted the sole candidacy of Blaise Compaore, adding that for him this is not democracy because democracy does not belong to one man.

Mr. Damiba remains committed to the party's position on the national conference issue. He talked about the mediation of national or international observers if the political situation deems it necessary.

To conclude, the CNPP-PSD candidate pledged to fight the general poverty that is rampant in Burkina Faso, and,

in order to achieve that goal, he will use his many acquaintances and his vast knowledge to serve the people. [end recording]

Ivory Coast

Houphouet Leaves for Paris Francophone Summit

AB1711131691 Abidjan Radiodiffusion Ivoirienne
Radio in French 1900 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] President Houphouet-Boigny left Abidjan this morning for Paris to attend the deliberations of the fourth Franco-African summit scheduled to open tomorrow. He was seen off at the airport by Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara, speaker Henri Konan Bedie, Economic and Social Council President Gregoire Philippe Yace, and the French ambassador in Ivory Coast, as well as many cabinet members.

When he arrived in the French capital, he was welcomed by the French minister delegate for Francophone affairs.

Prime Minister Comments on Privatization, Economy

AB1811160091 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 14-17 Nov 91 pp 8, 9

["Part one" of news conference by Ivorian Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara with Western reporters in Abidjan on 13 November]

[Text] [Gallois] Jean-Pierre Gallois, AFP: What sectors will be privatized next and, especially, how will this be carried out?

[Ouattara] Concerning privatization, you are aware that several enterprises have already been privatized: water, electricity, publishing industry, Ivorian Company for the Technical Control of Motor Vehicles.

The next sectors will include agro-based industries, telephone, and hotels. I would like to emphasize our orientations and structures. The government has set as its objective to improve the efficiency of our economy and to ensure that the management of these companies no longer causes a financial burden on the public sector. It also wants to ensure, if possible, that these companies provide better services. We have, therefore, set up a privatization committee chaired by my economic adviser, who is currently in Washington for negotiations with the World Bank. The privatization will be carried out through tender bids.

In general, the Stock Exchange will play a key role in the process. The level of mass participation in shareholding which we discussed in detail at previous meetings, especially during last week's Yamoussoukro seminar on privatization, is also worth emphasizing.

Twofold privatization-shareholding exercise: First, employees of the affected company will be involved in the exercise to enable them to feel that the company—or at least a small part of it—belongs to them. Second, we will ensure

that the share value at the Stock Exchange, is low enough to be accessible to the majority of our compatriots.

These are the major outlines. We believe that this will affect the tempo of our economic revival. I mentioned earlier the efforts the government has made to generate considerable public savings, because now that we are unable to derive more resources from our exports due to low world market prices, we need to save in order to invest. In a context of very low savings in the public sector, export revenues are used essentially for the maintenance of public facilities. Economic growth will depend on private investments. In our current economic situation, many large state enterprises can no longer invest due to losses and other factors. Privatization will generate fresh resources for these enterprises and improve the quality of their services.

[Gallois] Can Ivory Coast actually experience economic growth with the present currency exchange rate?

[Ouattara] Ivory Coast has been independent for a little over 30 years and, over a 25-year period, we have attained the highest growth rate in Africa. I would like to recall that during that period, the exchange rate was fixed, so the exchange rate is an important question; but our prime concern should be to ensure overall macro-economic management and the availability of resources.

In the current situation, we must find ways of generating resources because prices of raw materials are very low. Such resource generation will be possible through more efficient management in the public sector, and we have been trying to achieve this. Resources can also be generated by the private sector through fiscal measures and privatization, and that is what we are in the process of doing. But then, in increasing cash flow with a reasonable inflation rate, any underlying devaluation would automatically prompt a high inflation rate.

Ivory Coast has enjoyed monetary and financial stability for about 30 years. Over these 30 years, Ivory Coast's inflation rate has run close to that of Germany. Over the past 30 years, our average annual inflation rate has been at 3 percent to 4 percent, a remarkable and unprecedented rate for a developing country. It is the result of our monetary stability. Devaluation would automatically create a high inflation rate and affect most of the underprivileged.

Therefore, there are advantages and disadvantages in a devaluation. It must not be presumed that devaluation is a miraculous solution, because we have seen some neighboring countries which have devalued their currencies and which devalue every year but whose growth situation has not improved considerably. We currently have low growth rates which we are unhappy about; we are trying in our medium-term program to speed up the growth rate to reach a rate of 4.5 percent by the year 1995, and we have envisaged specific measures for carrying this out, namely, the reduction in taxes, the

deregulation of the labor market... improvement of the institutional framework of businesses.

Some people tell me: All this is fine, but the process is too slow. But then, it takes two or three years to achieve real growth. If we devalue now we could achieve faster growth; it is a matter of choice. We have chosen to go about things gradually and to try to obtain the best results for our economy, bearing in mind the need for social justice and social fairness.

This said, Ivory Coast belongs, initially, to an entity—the franc zone—and to the West African Monetary Union comprising six other countries that form the Central Bank of West African States, therefore, a decision concerning the exchange rate cannot be handled by Ivory Coast alone. It is the affair of the West African Monetary Union and the franc zone.

[Bauer] Mrs. Anne Bauer of LES ECHOS: For privatization, are you in favor of local or foreign investors?

[Ouattara] There is a popular adage which states that money has no color or smell. In fact, what is important in matters of privatization is to find a credible partner and, especially, to privatize in an open manner. That is why we are going to create a privatization committee. Privatization should not be the affair of one person alone or even the exclusive affair of the government. It should be carried out through a series of procedures that are likely to guarantee a certain number of things: First, the attainment of the government's set objectives; second, the provision of maximum opening for the participation of all interested persons and parties; and third, the respect of all legal provisions in force. This is what we are trying to do.

Privatization has hitherto concerned only foreign capital in particular, but this is only a matter of contingency. I was telling one of my aides that privatization should not be seen as something static. One must be very dynamic in this process. We know of many countries where companies were nationalized, privatized, and subsequently nationalized again—I do hope they will be privatized again. We have the example of the eastern European countries where everything was state-owned and where everything is now being privatized. We should go beyond the second stage: the debate is not about the public and private sector but, as you stated so well, on capital ownership.

There is a great national debate, currently, on this subject. Many people believe that nationals should benefit from this privatization exercise. This is also my wish, which is why we have introduced the notion of the participation of workers, the employees of the company to be privatized; we also envisage public shareholding. We must also realize, however, that nobody will sink money into a company that does not have its own funds, and a company cannot be managed easily with 5,000 shareholders. There should, therefore, be a leading shareholder.

Perhaps I am influenced by my experience as a central bank governor...but when I was at the Central Bank I only gave authorization to banks with banking references. Many people would come to see me and say: "I have 2 billion [CFA francs]; I want to create a bank. I have a building nearby. The minimum capital is 500 million, so I will deposit 2 billion; the Central Bank can take 500 million as capital and I will function with the rest." I would tell them: You are not a banker. You have money, but you need a leading shareholder as well; someone who can ensure the smooth running of the bank.

The same holds for all sectors of privatization. So if the leading shareholder is a national in the textile sector—we have young people who have good experience in this sector and who provide money for buying these companies—that is fine. If the leading shareholder is a foreigner, no problem. But over a long period, at least, in the countries I have visited—especially in Southeast Asia where privatization started with American companies as members—10 years after privatization, these companies became the property of nationals. We should not, therefore, see this at a restricted angle—the 1990-1991 timeframe.

I would like my compatriots to project themselves into the year 2000. This means that with good economic growth from 1995, and with an improvement in domestic savings, in addition to a change in mentality on which we insist a lot, these companies, even privatized with large foreign participation, will in a few years' time necessarily be transformed into diversified shareholdings in which nationals would play important roles. So it is a matter of transition and circumstances.

[Chauzy] Jean-Philippe Chauzy, BBC: During this transition period some "lame ducks" will definitely disappear. What is the social cost of this privatization?

[Ouattara] It would be irresponsible on the part of the government not to study, first, the social cost of the privatization. This is why we have a privatization commission, and the procedure we have set up involves carrying out, initially, an overall assessment. The commission is expected to produce an audit report of the company to be privatized, and in light of the audit report proposals will be made to government. If, indeed, a company has a balanced financial position and is able to generate the necessary resources or reserves over a long period for an investment that would maintain its quality of service while reducing prices for the general public, so much the better. At any rate, in this regard, what would be the point in privatizing such a company unless additional resources are needed?

If we have a company, however, which shows an imbalance, to the extent of being faced with the threat of liquidation, of dissolution, we then have to move in fast to privatize. This was what we did recently in the case of the electric power company. Had this company not been privatized, we would have been in darkness by now. We would have had to go without electricity for several days

because the company's equipment is obsolete. Consequently, no investment was taking place hitherto. Wage bills were huge; losses reached almost 100 billion [CFA francs]; and the state could no longer honor its commitments since the state was responsible for settling that company's external debts. Moreover, the banks were preparing to stop the flow of resources because the company had made excessive use of bank overdrafts.

We, therefore, had to move in fast through privatization. We had to find money at short notice to, first, balance the company's financial position, and to modernize its equipment. In my last news conference in September, I told the nation that we were experiencing fewer power cuts. I was told that only a day after my statement there was an electricity cut. Granted. But a year ago, we had 50 hours of blackout; now, the figure is around 30 hours per year. There has, therefore, been a remarkable improvement.

The most important thing is that a responsible government cannot just fold its arms to allow big companies with thousands of employees to drift toward liquidation, thereby, putting thousands of jobs at stake. Thus, if we had not made this decision to privatize Ivory Coast Electric Power Company, this organization would have closed down as a second company could have been formed immediately.

One could have indulged in the worst kind of politics by waiting for the company to show through weak management that it could no longer exist. It would have then declared bankruptcy and later asked another company to take it over but it would have been irresponsible for the government to allow that to happen.

In spite of the criticisms, we went in resolutely for this privatization exercise, precisely, to safeguard jobs in that organization. The government should not interfere with the management of private companies. A private company is outside the public domain and escapes the control of government, and, if at a given moment the performance of such a company calls for restructuring, it would be the responsibility of the new shareholder. The government, however, continues to ensure the maintenance of industrial peace.

To sum up, I would say that we are evaluating the social cost of privatization. This is of prime importance and our aim, first and foremost, is to protect jobs in the medium and long terms. The need to improve the quality of service in the cases raised is essential.

[Chauveau] Julie Chauveau, LA TRIBUNE: Do you have candidates for the privatization of the hotel, agro-industrial, and telephone sectors?

[Ouattara] Several countries are interested in this privatization exercise. Canada, France, Belgium, and so on, readily come to mind. There are many candidates for the telephone sector. Concerning the agro-industrial sector, I am referring basically to big agro-based firms like Palmindustrie for the oil palm sector and other such companies. We have many groups either operating in our country already or based in

neighboring countries, and which believe that the institutional environment in Ivory Coast could lead them to invest in this sector with a view toward exporting their products to their countries of origin.

We have received visits by Spaniards, Soviets...who see investment opportunities in the agro-industrial sector.

The publishing sector is also affected by the ongoing privatization. The form of privatization differs from one company to another. We do not have hard and fast rules. The privatization commission is a quite autonomous organ. We wish to stress that point. This commission did an elaborate job which was assigned by the interministerial committee that examines proposals before they are presented to the government and to the Council of Ministers. It is a complete process with its checks and balances.

[Fall] Jean Karim Fall, RFI [Radio-France International]: In answer to a question, you stated that money is colorless and odorless. I would like to ask you whether you have had contacts with South African investors in line with the privatization exercise?

[Ouattara] Yes, you know, when I was governor of the Central Bank, I was approached by some South Africans in connection with the takeover of the International Bank for West Africa [BIAO]. Well, I found it very unfortunate that for some institutional reasons linked with international disciplinary measures against that country we could not allow "the Standard Bank of South Africa" to take over the management of BIAO at that time. This confirms that money has no color or smell.

[Fall] Mr. Minister, you just said that Ivory Coast champions economic growth in Africa. At one time, one had the impression that she was going to become the champion of recession. Are there any taboo sectors that will not be affected by the privatization exercise?

[Ouattara] That is an interesting question! When I was chairman of the ministerial committee on the economic program in September last year, this question was put to me and one of my friends said that there were strategic sectors. I asked him to define what a strategic sector is. Is water strategic? Are electricity, telephone, transport and so on also strategic?

What I have noticed is that in most countries all these sectors are now being privatized! Concerning the telephone sector, I am told that if you privatize the sector people will be able to monitor other people's conversations but I told them that the conversations were already being tapped. This is a technological problem and not a strategic one.

So, in my view, there are no strategic sectors that are exempted from privatization. But then it is not the prime minister who decides on privatization. We have stormy debates at government level over the issue. The communications minister here can bear me out! If the general observation is that privatization is the best way to manage a company, we do not hesitate to do so. I

attended a private university in the United States. It is well managed and there is no problem. I have also seen private hospitals but in developing countries we know that sectors like health, education, defense are fragile sectors where profits on investments are low, therefore, these sectors have to be subsidized.

In the field of education, we have substantial private sector participation except at the university level. This is

also the case in the health sector. It is only national defense that is not privatized in the world. But in many countries war equipment is produced by private companies. I wrap up by saying that privatization is not so unwieldy a task that its initiators can no longer handle it. It is rather a question of case by case analysis of the sectors and companies in line with overall government policy aimed at improving upon the efficiency and competitiveness of our economy.

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